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DISSERTATION

ON THE

REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH of *ENGLAND*.



HIS Dissertation will give the Reader a just Idea of the Rise and Progress of the *English Reformation*; that is, of one of those extraordinary Revolutions, the Beginnings of which appear contemptible, and wholly unconnected with the wonderful Consequences which flowed from them. A Revolution, the chief Agents of which seemed deprived of their Liberty, and were, in some Measure, forced to follow against their own Inclinations the Dictates of an overruling Providence, infinitely superior to the Power of Man: In short a Revolution, the first Author of which, tho' unwilling, and without even foreseeing it, destroyed a Religion of which he had lately been declared the * Defender, and which he endeavoured to maintain by Fire and Sword, even in the height of his Rebellion against the Head of the Church, the Vicar of Christ upon Earth. Such

* Leo the Xth gave him that Title to reward his Zeal for the Catholick Church, which made him write against *Luther*. If we believe *Burnet* in his Preface to the History of the *English Reformation*, *Henry* was so vain as to think the Holy Ghost inspired him in the Composition of that Book.

was the Behaviour of *Henry* the VIIIth, a Prince violent and impetuous in his Desires, carried away beyond all Bounds by his Passions, despotick in his Undertakings, yet wavering and unsettled in his Principles. The many Irregularities he was guilty of, in the deplorable Schism he began, gave the World just Grounds to think he rather followed the unruly Motions of a fiery Temper, than the Direction of a Zeal^b according to Knowledge, for the Good of his Religion.

THIS famous Schism, or, to use softer Words and less offensive to Protestant Ears, this eminent Reformation has been an irreparable Loss to the Catholick Church; but let it be said without any Offence to the said Church, that it has been followed by a Freedom of thinking which has and daily does spread its Beams through all Parts of Learning in *Europe*. It took its Rise from a Scruple of *Henry VIII* concerning his Marriage with *Catharine of Arragon*, Widow of Prince *Arthur*, *Henry's* Brother. 'Tis needless to examine here whether this Scruple was well grounded or not: Certain it is that this King's violent Passion for *Anne Bullen* either raised or^c renewed this Scruple: Tho' some pretend that Cardinal *Wolsey*^d being discontented, persuaded the King that his Marriage was null. However that be, they had recourse to *Rome* for a Divorce; but to prepare Matters the Bishops of *England* were first consulted, Ways and Means sought, to secure the Pope's Authority in that nice Point. The Bull of Dispensation for *Henry's* Marriage was soon found to have been surreptitiously obtained; this Discovery was looked upon as the best way to screen the Pope's Infallibility: Since, by the Canon-Law, if by any false Representation of Facts, or deceitful Pretence the Pope is imposed upon, and Bulls obtained, such Decrees may be reversed without infringing the Pope's Infallibility. Such are the Shifts found out to clear his Holiness from the Defects and Mistakes which are contained in several Bulls, and have startled the timorous Consciences of the Faithful^e.

THESE Measures being taken, Pope *Clement* the VIIth was applied to, and he granted at first what his politick Views and the ill State of his Affairs required of him. In the first Ages of Christianity plain Sincerity decided all doubtful Cases, no Cunning, no Delays, no Restrictions were made use of: But Christianity was then like Man in his Infancy; and like him, growing in Strength and Experience, has also acquired Cunning and Deceit: By an invincible Strength and a Divine Courage it overcame both Infidels and Hereticks; even the Faithful and Orthodox were kept in Awe. But, beware of Mistakes, Christianity in its Vigour, which one may call its Manhood, proved also subject to human Passions. Policy got the better of Religion; eloquent, subtle, and deceitful Men governed the Religion of the rest, and artfully taught them to serve God, so as to reap the Honour and Profit themselves, and recommended as so many Acts of Piety, what turned chiefly to their Advantage. But

^b *Henry* had till then been very obsequious to the Popes, and submissive to their Decisions; yet he did not want Learning, having studied very well considering the Time he lived in: And Father *Orleans's Hist. of Revol. of Engl. Lib. VIII.* says, every one observed in him more Knowledge than is common to those of his Rank even after a Course of Studies.

^c *Burnet* and other Protestant Historians pretend this Scruple began in the Life time of *Henry* the VIIth, notwithstanding *Julius* the II^d his Dispensation, which should have quieted their Consciences. But other Authors give a different Account of this Matter. See Father *Orleans* above cited, where he asserts *Henry's* Aversion for *Catharine of Arragon* to have been the Cause of it.

^d Father *Orleans* gives a bad Character of *Wolsey* upon this Account.

^e Witness the Abuses concerning Indulgences. See what *Thiers* relates in his Treatise of the Superstitions which have crept into the Administration of the Sacraments.

^f *Charles* the Vth kept him in Prison, yet *Knight* who was sent to *Rome* about the Divorce found means to let him know his Commission; to which the Pope gave a favourable Answer. When out of Prison, he endeavoured to draw out the Affair to some Length, but granted a Dispensation for the Divorce, tho' encumbered with many Restrictions which may be seen in the Historians.

to come back to the Divorce after this short Digression. That Affair seemed at first to take a favourable Turn to the King's Designs, when all on a sudden, after many affected Delays and Subtilties, many^e Objections, which Fear and Cunning suggested, *Clement* openly slighted *England*, and declared for the Emperor^h, who was then absolute Master of *Italy*. We must own also that the Pope was intimidated by *Charles* the Vth's Threats, and became very irresolute and wavering in his Designs, promising sometimes they say even upon Oath what was required of him, yet never fulfilling his Engagements, if they in the least endangered his Authority: So true it is that Duty often gives way to Politicks, and that Apostolical Plain-dealing and Singleness of Heart are not Virtues always inherent to their Successors!

THIS Conduct of the Pope was very displeasing to the King, who began to despair of Success with his Holiness, and therefore resolved to have the Cause of his Divorce heard before the Legates *Campegius* and *Wolsey*: But the Pope over partial to the Emperor followed the Motions of his Fright and Self-Interest, recalled the Power he had given to his Legates, ordered the Cause of *Henry* the VIIIth to be judged at *Rome*, and cited the King and Queen *Catharine* to appear there before him. Then it was that *Anne Bullen* was sent for again to Court, from which she had been removed during the Prosecution of the Divorce before the Legates. *Cranmer* also, who proved afterwards one of the chief Promoters of the *English* Reformation, began at that time to be known, by the Expedient he found out, which was to consult the Learned and the Universities of *Europe* about the Divorce. This Fetch proved favourable to *Henry*. Some Catholick Authors affirm that *English* Angels (a Picce of Money of those Times) procured many Votes for his Causeⁱ. The *German Reformers*, says *Burnet*^k, "declared against him as to the Fact, tho' they had voted in his Favour as to the Right . . . because they acted with such an Integrity, Honesty, and conscientious Plain-dealing, as was not far short of the Apostolical Age." These Consultations being over, *Henry* renewed his Treaty with the Court of *Rome*. A Letter was written to the Pope by his Order in the strongest Terms, to let his Holiness know, that "unless a satisfactory Answer was immediately obtained, the King would seek a Remedy elsewhere; yet promising not to come to Extremities, as long as he could entertain any hopes that the Pope would do him Justice." *Clement's* Answer did not please; *Henry* forbad his Subjects to obtain or receive from *Rome* any Orders contrary to his Authority. Some Writings were also made publick in Favour of the Divorce: But we must refer our Readers to the Historians of both Parties, or to what *Burnet*^l has mentioned concerning the Reasons alledged for or against it.

THE King laid before the Parliament the Writings and Decisions which were favourable to him. Then he had recourse to the Convocation of the Clergy, which declared his Marriage with *Catharine* was null, and the Dispensation granted by *Julius* the IId of no Force. From that Time the Pope's Authority declined in *England*:

^e The chief, which began the Breach, was the Refusal to shew the Bull of Dispensation to the King's Council; *Campegius* the Pope's Legate had Orders not to deliver it, but to burn it as soon as the King and *Wolsey* should have seen it. This Order was occasioned by the Pope's Negotiations with the Emperor.

^h *Rapin* in his *History of England* Lib. XV. says, That *Francis* the Ist not sending timely Succours to *Lautrec*, his General in *Italy*, was the Occasion of this Turn in the Affair of the Divorce, because for want of this Help the Pope was obliged to come over to the Emperor. A noble Field for Reflexions on the narrow Views of Politicians.

ⁱ According to *Rapin*, the *English* Universities were brought over with much Difficulty, fearing the Consequences of the Divorce, viz. the Increase of Lutheranism, and the Promotion of *Cranmer* who was a *Lutheran*, a Name then given to all Hereticks. Catholicks say the Doctors Votes were obtained by secret Practices, Threats, ill Treatments, and Bribes.

^k Hist. of Reform. Lib. II.

^l See *Burnet* in the same Place.

The Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* paved the Way by acknowledging the King as supreme Head and Protector of the Church and Church-men of *England*. Not long after the Parliament took off the Annates, (an odious Tribute, levied with the utmost Rigour upon all Church-Livings, to which the Court of *Rome* would grant no Letters of Provision, till it was fully paid) declaring at the same time, that if the Pope, for want of this Payment, should refuse his Bulls to those who should be named to Bishopricks or Archbishopricks, “ then and in such Case the Bishops should “ be consecrated by an Archbishop, and the latter by two Bishops, whom the King “ should chuse, and such a Consecration be deemed as valid as if the Pope had ordered it.” The same Parliament allowed to the Pope one twentieth of the first Year’s Income of Benefices, with a proviso, “ that all Censures or Excommunications “ thundered out by the Court of *Rome* against the King or his Subjects, should be “ looked upon as null, not put in Execution, or any regard paid to them, but Ecclesiastical Functions and Divine Service performed notwithstanding, both in publick and private.”

WE shall omit several particular Facts, which were the Fore-runners of more glaring Attempts against the Papal Power, such as some Letters which passed between the Pope and the King; this Prince’s being cited to appear at *Rome*, and his Refusal of sending even an Attorney to represent him; *Cranmer*’s ^m Promotion to the See of *Canterbury*, &c. In February 1533 Appeals to *Rome* were forbid: *Cranmer* ⁿ declared null the King’s Marriage with *Catharine of Arragon*, and confirmed that which he had contracted with *Anne Bullen*, who was accordingly crowned Queen a few Days after. So ended that Affair which broke the close Union of so many Ages standing betwixt *England* and *Rome*. This Decision was, at least to outward Appearance, grounded on Motives of Conscience and Religion, which the Promoters of the Reformation often employed since with Success. The Pope condemned all these Proceedings, annulled the Archbishop’s Sentence, threatened the King himself with Excommunication, but allowed him Time ^p to repent: Instead of which *Henry* appealed from this Decree of the Court of *Rome* to a General Council lawfully assembled: Notwithstanding all this publick and open Defiance, there were still some Hopes of a Reconciliation, grounded on the King of *England*’s wavering Notions and changeable Temper ^q. *France* offered its Mediation betwixt the Pope and King. *Henry* himself seemed inclined to refer it to the Judgment of the Cardinals, upon Condition that those of the *Imperial* Faction should be excluded from the Consistory. The Pope on the other Side was disposed to favour *Henry*. In a word all tended to a Coalition; but the Emperor’s Party diving into the Secret broke all their Measures. The *Austrian* Cardinals urged and encouraged the Pope so far, that he too hastily published that fatal Decree, which confirmed *Henry*’s Marriage with *Catharine*, under the Penalty of incurring all the Censures of the Church, unless he conformed to it.

^m The Pope granted the Bulls required in Favour of this Archbishop, concealing his Grief for that Promotion; *Cranmer* was closely united to the *Lutherans*, he had furnished the King with Weapons against *Rome*, and seemed inclined to the Reformation. He was consecrated in March 1533. His Bulls, says *Burnet*, were the last seen in *England*.

ⁿ In May 1533.

^o *Henry* married *Anne Bullen* at *Calais*; *Roland Lee* a Priest performed the Ceremony, being deceived as Catholic Historians relate it by the King’s telling him, “ he had gained his Cause at last, and that the Pope “ had both declared his Marriage with *Catharine* null, and given him leave to take another Wife, &c.” See the Continuation of *Fleury*’s History, Vol. XXVII. p. 298.

^p Till September.

^q So *Burnet* says.

^r *Father Orleans* says, as cited before, that both Parties were in a favourable Disposition, at least to go on in the Law-suit, if the *Imperial* Cardinals had not hurried Matters.

This happened but two Days^f before the Arrival of a Messenger, who brought with him *Henry's* Submission obtained by the Mediation of *France*.

HERE we may, after *Burnet's* Example, fix the memorable Epocha of the Down-fal of the Pope's Authority in *England*. *Henry* finding himself deceived by the Court *Rome* lost all Regard, and Respect for it; the exorbitant Power of that Court had been very much shaken for some Years by repeated Conteſts with, or Diſputes about it, which made it eaſier for him to abolish it. In *March 1534* *England* freed itself from the Obedience ſo long paid to the Holy See, and from that Submission which the Pope required more like an abſolute Maſter from Slaves, than a tender Father from Children. The Church muſt have a Head, but his Power ought not to be unbounded or deſpotick, had this Authority been kept within its own Sphere, had it not been often exerted againſt the known Rules of Goſpel Morality, had the common Father of the Faithful given good Example, ſeaſoned his Inſtructions with Mildneſs and Compaſſion towards his Children, inſtead of puniſhing their ſmalleſt Faults with Fire and Sword, Racking-wheels, and Gibbets; *Luther* and *Calvin* would never have found Followers to diſturb the Peace of the Church, the *Low-Countries* would be ſtill ſubjeſt to it, *Henry* would not have made a Schiſm, and the remaining Catholicks would not ſo often withſtand their common Father's Orders, with as much Stubbornneſs as thoſe who are entirely revolted from him. The Parliament had no ſooner reſolved to diſown the Pope's Authority, any further than that of a private Biſhop reſtrained within the Limits of his own Dioceſe, and openly declared againſt his univerſal Jurisdiction, but Divines wrote on that Subject, and endeavoured to convince the People of the Truth of, and Benefit ariſing from, this new broached Opinion: Even their Sermons were chiefly employed in exclaiming againſt the Pope, in repreſenting his Authority as a downright Tyranny; from the heavy Yoke of which, *England* was at laſt happily delivered. This Doctrin found eaſy Acceſs in a Nation always jealous of its Liberty^g and Property. Add to this the wonderful Authority and perſuaſive Power of a Preacher who from a Pulpit thunders out in Favour of Liberty, and pretends that what he maintains is agreeable to, what he attacks is expreſly againſt, the infallible Word of God. This Act of Parliament againſt the Pope and in Favour of the King being paſſed, the Clergy ſubmitted and owned that the Power of convening them was lodged in the Sovereign, the Eccleſiaſtical Laws were narrowly looked into, and Hereticks enjoy'd the Privilege granted in *England* to other Criminals, viz. of being heard in their own Defence, and even being ſet at Liberty upon Bail, &c.

THE Affair of *Elizabeth Barton*, which happened much about that Time, was very prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, and made the Clergy ſtill more odious. She was a Nun in *Kent*, and is commonly known by the Name of the Maid of *Kent*. Tho' we ſhould not give Credit to the whole Hiſtory of her pretended Extaſies, as related by Proteſtant Authors, ſtill it plainly appears ſhe was a Cheat, and guilty in the Sight of God and Men. She was, they ſay, afflicted with Vapours to a high Degree, this Diſtemper ſome crafty Monks improv'd to their own Advantage, and pretended ſhe was inſpired; her moſt fooliſh Words and Actions were cried up as heavenly Revelations, and they helped her to counterfeit the Spirit of Prophecy.

^f The Meſſenger had been ſtopt by the overflowing of Waters. Such Events are above all human Foreſight, and generally looked upon Miracles by thoſe who gain their Ends by them.

^g The new Act of Parliament was an Eaſe to the People, abolithed the buying and ſelling of Indulgences, &c.

The Fraud went on successfully for some Time, at last it was discovered, and proved very detrimental both to the Nun and to the Monks; who have had the Misfortune to be often accused of such Male Practices. But they are not the only Persons guilty of those Enormities.—We have seen such Tricks play'd * over again in our own Days, and it must be owned, that People who are diffident of the Justice and Strength of their Cause, are apt to endeavour to support it by unlawful Means; which generally raise the Publick's Indignation, and if the People are inclined to a Revolution, make them absolutely resolve upon it. We shall not entertain our Readers with the Clergy's Oppositions to the new Religion, the Disputes which soured the Minds more and more, the burning by the King's Order, or at least with his Connivance, both Books containing, and Authors and Followers maintaining, the new Doctrine. *Henry* had been told, that the best Way of justifying his Conduct towards *Rome*, was to shew a great Zeal in Favour of the old Religion; and moreover, 'tis certain, that Prince had not left the other Doctrines of the Catholick Church, when he renounced the Pope's Power. Nevertheless, the reading the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue having been allow'd, in Spight of all the Oppositions made against that Grant by the Monks and Clergy, the new Religion spread itself throughout the whole Kingdom, with an incredible Swiftnefs; because every one made it his Business to compare the Conduct of Christ's Vicar, with the Morals preached and practis'd by Christ; the Doctrine of Scripture, with the Actions of the Monks and Ecclesiasticks of those Times. The Reading of the sacred Books being allowed to every one, every one undertook to search into it, and to explain it his own Way. They earnestly looked for the Condemnation of those Doctrines they were resolv'd to abandon; whatever was not found expressly mentioned in Scripture, was condemn'd as erroneous: So that Tradition was reject'd, with most of the Councils and the Decretals. Thus *Henry* the VIIIth, led on by Men, who to the pure Word of God join'd much human Policy, and knew how to use all worldly Craft in Fishing of Men^w, made daily Advances towards a Reformation, no ways intended by him in his Divorce from Queen *Catharine*.

IN the Year 1536, the Convocation of the *English* Clergy drew up Articles of Religion, which were examined and amended by the King himself, as Head of his Church. This was but a first Draught of the Reformation, which the new Gospel Workmen brought on Step by Step as they could get Ground; they were already bent upon a total Separation from the Catholicks, but were forc'd to give Way to the King's Religion: And tho' in many Occasions they may not have followed exactly the Pattern of plain Dealing set them by Christ, tho' several other Defects which we shall pass * over in silence, may have been evident Proofs that their Mission was not from God; it must be confessed at least, that they made a skilful Use of the Situation in which they found *Henry*, who by overthrowing the Pope's Authority in his Kingdom, did not or would not foresee that he must soon or late act against the solemn Protestation he then made of maintaining Catholick Religion in its full Force and Extent^y. Here are some Proofs of what we now advance.

* Not to mention the carnal Quietism of C. every one remembers the *French* Prophets both in *London* and in the *Cevennes*. But of this more hereafter.

^w This alludes to Christ's Words to St. *Peter* and other Apostles.

^x See *Bossuet's* History of the Variations of Protestant Churches, *Lib.* 7.

^y *Burnet's* History of Reform. *Lib.* 3. relates the various Judgments on those Articles, and on *Henry's* Situation.

HENRY had appealed from the Pope to a General Council: But who could call it? Was it the Pope? His Authority was disowned in several States of Christendom: And he was Henry's adverse Party. Could so necessary a Meeting be brought about by a general Consent of the whole Church, or of all Christian Princes? The Church was divided, different Parties formed, some were engaged on one Side, some on the other. Kings and Princes took Advantage of the State of Affairs, their Interests were changed; and those Powers which had espoused the new Opinions, thought it absolutely necessary to pull down Popery: Not so much with an Intent to conform to the new System, as out of the political Views which prevailed in the sixteenth Century. Therefore the Appeal to a General Council was eluded in the following Manner. The Clergy declared against the Assembly at Mantua, which was a kind of Preliminary to the Council of Trent, they exclaimed against General Councils as useless and subject to great Inconveniences, and raised such Objections, as were not to be overcome in that Conjunction^{*} of Time. Both Interest and Policy brought on the Dissolution of Monasteries: To palliate the Matter, the Disorders of the Monks and Nuns were exposed to publick View, and magnified beyond Measure. This was a plausible Pretence, and it must be owned, that for some Ages before, very few had been exempt from them. To engage the Nobility, and render those Innovations agreeable to it, the Abby Lands were sold at a low Price; and to quiet the People, chiefly the poorer Sort, who were maintained by the charitable Contributions of the Abbots and their Monks, the Purchasers of those Lands were ordered to continue those Alms, and keep up Hospitality. The Dissolution did not become universal till the Year 1539. Whoever is apprised of the blind Obedience which the Monks pay to the Orders of Rome, must be sensible that this Suppression was a necessary Consequence of disowning the Pope's Supremacy. This was followed by new Regulations about Religion, which, says Burnet, "Was the first publick Act of Henry's Supremacy, who till then had always consulted the Clergy of his Kingdom." But now by his single Authority, he commanded all Priests who had the Care of Souls committed to their Charge, to declare to the People, every Sunday, during three Months from the Publication of this Order, and afterwards twice in every quarter of a Year, that the Pope's Authority was null, abusive, and no ways grounded upon the Word of God, &c. By this same Decree several Holydays were suppressed as unprofitable, the Honour paid to Relicks, Images and Pilgrimages were discountenanced and forbid as superstitious; Alms only, and the keeping of God's Commandments were enjoined. Priests were earnestly exhorted to teach the People to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Decalogue, &c. in the Vulgar Tongue; to reside in their Diocese or Parish; to comply carefully with all the Duties of true Pastors; to administer the Sacraments with due Reverence; to lead regular Lives; to abstain from going to Taverns, &c. and to share their Income with the Poor. These Regulations occasioned some Tumults, raised and fomented by Priests and Monks, who disliked this Reformation prescribed to them. Henry suppressed them with Ease, and having no further Occasion to shew any Regard to the Priests and others who adhered to the old Religion, and could do no more than fear and

^{*} These Objections may be seen in Burnet's *Hist. of Ref. Lib. 3.* A Passage of St. Greg. Naz. against Councils is there cited. Protestants cite the Fathers, when to their Purpose, Catholics do the same against Protestants. Human Frailties are of all Parties.

^{*} *Rapin Thoiras, Lib. 15.* says, that "Hope of Gain by their Spoils made Henry push on that Affair with the utmost Eagerness . . . And that his Design was easily guess'd at by his employing Cromwell, who was a declared Enemy to the Monks." Had this been a *Work truly Evangelical*, the Agents should have been Men animated with the Love of Truth, not with a Desire of Revenge.

hate him, he went on in the Execution of his Projects. He insisted on a Compliance with his Reformation, and pursued it with fresh Vigour, in order to crush all those who maintained the Pope's Authority, who were now become his most inveterate and irreconcilable Enemies. This occasioned the total Suppression of Monasteries, in which, 'tis said, a Discovery was made of an infinite Number of Frauds committed in the Honour paid to Relicks and Images. They mention amongst others, a Crucifix at *Boxley*, which was called the *Statue of Grace*. It bent, or raised, or lowered itself, could shake its Head, roll and turn its Eyes or knit its Brows, according to the various Sentiments it was to express. The sly Monks had cunningly contrived in their Cells, the different Springs which were to put in Motion the wonderful Crucifix. This pious Fraud, or rather detestable Contrivance, not only edified some *English* Bigots, but what was chiefly aimed at, enriched the Monastery. At last a Bishop of the new Stamp found out the Mechanism by which those pretended Miracles were wrought. The Monks of *Hales* were also discovered in such another, tho' far less ingenious piece of Villany; they kept some Duck's Blood, which they pretended was some of Christ's precious Blood, in a Glass Viol, one Side of which was very thick and not transparent, the other thin and very clear. When any Bigot was to be cheated out of his Money, the thick Side was shewn to him, and he was told the Blood was invisible by reason of his Sins: Fright, and an earnest Desire of seeing the Blood, made him soon redeem his Sins by large Alms to the Convent. We should find much fewer Miracles recorded, had all their secret Springs and Frauds been found out; and the legend Writers might have spared three Parts in four of their voluminous Works, if they had mentioned none of those Tricks as true Miracles, and even added some groundless Fictions of their own; but thank God, neither Christianity nor Catholick Religion, inforces an implicit Faith to legendary Authors. A serious Consideration of all these religious Quackeries oblige us to say with *Cicero*, Is it possible a South-fayer^b can look at another without laughing? And indeed, how can one Man, who gravely pretends to preach up as pious Practices, what he himself knows to be usefess and superstitious; help laughing at another whom he finds guilty of the same Cheat, and recommending other Practices as usefess as those he himself extolled. Such Discoveries soon brought Relicks and Images into Contempt. They burnt the Body of that holy Prelate *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had maintained with so much Zeal, the Privilege claimed by the Popes of governing Kings and Emperors. The Festival and Office of that Martyr for the Pope's Supremacy, was forbid^c to be kept or said: His rich Shrine was beat to Pieces, and his Altars demolished^d. *Henry* omitted^e no Affronts he could offer to the Memory of that Saint, and vented upon his Ashes the implacable Hatred he had conceived against the Pope.

THIS Behaviour of the King of *England* rendered him daily more odious to the Court of *Rome*. He was accused of declaring open War against God and his Saints;

^b *Cic. L. 1. de Natura Deorum. Miror quod non rideat hauruspex, cum hauruspitem viderit.* I might have put another Word more adapted to Christianity, but I leave it to each Party to put in what Word they like best.

^c *Bossuet, L. 7. Hist. of Var.* gives an ingenious Parallel betwixt that Saint and *Thomas Cranmer*; the impartial Catholics and Protestants may examine it.

^d *Chevr.* who in 1730, printed at *Amsterdam* a Chronological Compendium of *English* History, which to his great Loss, was oftener met with in Grocer's Shops, than in the Libraries of the learned, says, that "St. *Thomas Becket*'s Disgrace was a Consequence of the Downfall of that Authority, which having sealed

^e with his Blood, he obtained the Crown of Martyrdom, and all the Glories of Heaven." *Henry* was so foolish as to cite that Saint before his Tribunal, and there try and condemn him for High Treason.

he was compared to the most wicked Princes of Antiquity. At last the Pope thundered out against him the dreadful Sentence of Deposition, declaring his Subjects free from their Oath of Allegiance, &c. But these Thunders of the Vatican only irritated Henry the more against the Pope: He required of the *English* Bishops a new Declaration against him, as a Tyrant and an Usurper of the Kingly Power in Temporals: He gave a general Leave to read the Scripture, and ordered Bibles to be placed in all Churches, and that the Priests should exhort their Parishioners to read them; and to conform their Lives to the divine Precepts therein contained. Pilgrimages, Relicks, Images, saying Beads and the Rosary, &c. were also inveigh'd against as useles and superstitious Customs. *Cromwell* had a new Dignity conferred upon him, which placed him at the Head of the Reformation ^f. He ordered Images to be pulled down, and forbad to honour them with lighted Tapers or Candles. But this was allowed before the blessed Eucharist or a Crucifix. Parish Priests had also Orders given them, to leave out the *Ora pro nobis*, or, *Pray for us*, as *Burnet* expresses it, which brought on a Disuse and Contempt of calling upon the Saints for their Intercession ^g. Yet Henry persecuted other Hereticks, and chiefly the Sacramentarians, whom he hated.

IN 1539, or 1540, six new Articles of Religion, very opposite ^h to the Reformation, were proposed and passed into an Act of Parliament, with Henry's Approbation. They are known in the *English* History by the Name of *A Statute to prevent Diversity of Opinions on certain Articles of the Christian Religion*. By this Law, which was intended, as is said in the Preamble, *to re-establish Union, and prevent the evil Consequences of Division*, it was enjoined to believe and to teach, 1. That after the Consecration of the Bread and Wine, no Part of the Substance of this Bread and Wine remains in the Sacrament, but only the Body and Blood of Christ, under those Appearances.

2. THAT Scripture does not enjoin receiving the Communion under both Kinds, as absolutely necessary, and that one might be saved without believing it, since the Body and Blood of Christ are both under each Kind.

3. THAT the Law of God did not allow those to marry, who had been ordain'd Priests.

4. THAT the same Law obliged those who had vowed Chastity to keep it.

5. THAT the Use of private Masses should be observed, it being grounded upon Scripture, &c.

6. THAT Confession should be kept up in the Church as useful and necessary; yet without believing it ⁱ to be of absolute Necessity. All those who should impugn those Articles, chiefly the first, were condemned to Death, Loss of Goods, &c. And great Care was taken to have them punctually comply'd with. This Law terrify'd for some time ^k those who were for carrying on the Reformation, and inspired the Roman Catholicks with new Courage, but it neither hindered the first from making daily Progress, nor the last from frequent Disappointments: The Dissolution of

^f That of Vicar General and Vicegerent. *Burnet*, Lib. 3.

^g *Burnet*, *ibid.*

^h That is opposite to the Reformation which followed, for what had been done already, and those very Articles, were a kind of Reformation. See what *Bossuet* says of them, Lib. 7. *Hist. Par.* This Act of Parliament, says *Rapin*, Lib. 15. was called the *Bloody Statute*; it had been contrived by *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, but Henry's true Motive was "to make all his Subjects dependent on him, none being exempt from troublesome Enquiries; so, says *Rapin*, the Pope's Party, and that of the Reformers, were "at his Beck." What was this, but to claim Infallibility, and make himself Pope of *England*?

ⁱ See *Burnet*, in his Additions.

^k Henry lost by it the good Graces of the *German* Protestants, *id. ibid.*

Abbies and Monasteries went on, the Lands belonging to them were fold, the Order of the Knights of St. *John of Jerusalem* was suppressed in the Year 1540, and Leave was given, or rather renewed, to every particular Person to read the Bible. From all which it appears, that the Reformers did not lose much Ground: But the Death of *Cromwell*¹, who had warmly espoused their Cause, was an irreparable Loss to them. *Cranmer* was the only Support of the Reformation, against *Gardiner*, who protected the Catholicks, and had Cunning enough to set in a proper Light the Inconstancy of the King, who favoured both the Catholicks and Protestants by Turns, and whose former Steadiness was chiefly attributed to *Cromwell's* superior Genius.

In the Year 1542, we find evident Proofs of the Bible being read in all ^m Churches, and some Time after the Roman ⁿ Catholicks endeavoured to cry it down, under Pretence, that it was falsify'd in the Translation. We must also take Notice of a Pastoral Instruction set forth by Bishop *Bonner*, towards the latter End of 1542, or Beginning of 1543. It earnestly recommended to Priests and Churchmen the reading of Scripture, and contained several Points of Discipline of very great Importance, concerning the Instructions to be given to the People, Education of Children, edifying Lives of Priests, and a Decency of Behaviour in religious Ceremonies, either of old standing, or newly established; but chiefly about Sermons, and a bad Custom which had crept in of representing ludicrous Farces or Plays in the Churches. Strange and almost innumerable Abuses were daily committed in their Manner of Preaching, in which it is very difficult to determine, whether Ignorance, Superstition, or a bad Taste, prevailed most in the Age we mention and some of the precedent. Commonly they were but so many ridiculous Representations ^o of the Incarnation, Birth, and Passion of Christ, and other Passages of his Life, contrived, according to all Appearance, rather to procure a clownish Recreation for our Ancestors ^p, than to imprint in their Minds the heavenly Truths of the Gospel. But the Plays which *Bonner* condemned in his Pastoral Instruction were of another Kind. *Burnet* assures us, "that, at the Beginning of the Reformation, there was a Design set on foot, to represent in a ludicrous Manner the loose and disorderly Lives of the Monks . . . and Priests who followed the old Religion. These Writings . . . were in Prose, somewhat like Ballads . . . The Action of the Players was as bad as the Subject . . . When the Vices of Monks and Disorders of Convents had sufficiently entertained the Publick; some of the superstitious Ceremonies of the old Religion were brought upon the Stage, and this Show pleased the common People, who, remembering the bad Lives of, and cruel Usage they had received from some Churchmen, diverted themselves at their Cost, and were delighted to see their Su-

¹ He had been *Henry's* Vicegerent. His Death, says *Burnet*, was a great Remora to the Progress of the Reformation. Yet he died a Catholick, and owned upon the Scaffold, *that he had been seduced*. Nevertheless *Burnet* pretends, he died out of the Communion of *Rome*; because, says he, at that Time the Word Catholick was a distinguishing Mark for those who disliked the Innovations of the Court of *Rome*. But how can that agree with the said Recantation?

^m See *Burnet*, as abovecited.

ⁿ We desire that no body should take Offence at this Distinction; 'tis employ'd only for Clearness sake, because the Church of *England* calls itself Catholick also.

^o The Authors of the *History of the French Stage*, p. xi. and xvi. of their Pref. of the *Amsterdam* Edition in 1735, refuse the Name of Comedy to those Poetical Dialogues on the Mysteries of Religion, which were publicly spoken upon a Stage by a Company of Bigots of those Days, who called themselves *Brethren of the Passion*. But since they own them to be *Dramatick Poems*, we can find no Difference between them and other Comedies, except the want of Unity of Action, and their being divided into different Days, by which they become so many Comedies, instead of being only one. Let the Readers be Judges.

^p And to make them shed Tears from the Bottom of their Hearts; if we give Credit to the same Authors, p. xx. who pretend, that the ludicrous Episodes which accompanied those venerable Mysteries did not interrupt, but rather encrease, Devotion: If the comical Speeches of the Devils caused Laughter, the Punishments of the Wicked terrify'd the Spectators.

“ perdition turned to publick Ridicule The Clergy^a on t’other Side exclaim-
 “ ed against this Practicc, as paving the Way to Impiety and Atheism The
 “ wisest Reformers condemned it also, as not conformable to the true Spirit
 “ of the Christian Religion. As for the Politicians, they encouraged it with all
 “ their Might” And to be sure these last, joined to Women, Children,
 the Mobility and indiscreet Bigots, made up a powerful Body. *Burnet* takes Notice
 likewise of the Defects with which Sermons were accompanied in *England*, and
 indeed they were common to all other Countries. “ Before the Reformation, *says*
 “ *he*, few Sermons were preached, except in Lent. The Discourses pronounced on
 “ Holydays were Panegyricks, rather than instructive . . . But in Lent, the Mendic-
 “ ant Fryers put themselves forward in that Time of Fasting and Abstinence, em-
 “ ploy’d all their Eloquence to make Impressions on their Hearers; they spoke with
 “ a good deal of Vehemence, but . . . with as much Affectation . . . wholly bent
 “ upon extolling some Church Ordinance and drawing to their respective
 “ Convents the Alms and Offerings of the People . . . Indulgences and Pilgrimages
 “ were highly commended, and the Shrines and Relicks of Saints magnificently
 “ adorned. But little or no Care was taken, to represent in all its Beauty . . . the
 “ Excellency of Holiness So many Fables and human Inventions were inter-
 “ mixed with the Truths of our Holy Religion, that those Instructions became a
 “ meer Jest and a ridiculous Farce.” The first *English* Reformers endeavoured to re-
 medy those Defects, and to infill into the Minds of the faithful a true Knowledge of
 the Principles and Grounds of Christianity. They sent Preachers of their own to
 all Parts of the Kingdom, without fixing their Residence at any particular Church.
 “ They went (*says Burnet*) and instructed the People, sometimes in one Place, some-
 “ times in another; being authorized so to do by the King’s Permission But
 “ as Party Differences about the Points to be believed ran very high . . . the King
 “ pitched upon two Expedients to remedy this Evil. 1. He commanded that no
 “ Ecclesiastick should preach without his Licence, or that of the Ordinary of the
 “ Diocess. 2. He caused a Book of Homilies to be printed, in which, the Epistles
 “ and Gospels of every Sunday and Holiday were contained, and explained. This
 “ was a Paraphrase of those Parts of Scripture in which the most necessary
 “ Instructions for the good Conduct of our Lives are delivered: Various Exhorta-
 “ tions, and short Explanations of the most common Difficulties were added to
 “ it . . . as were also some set Discourses for particular Occasions, as Weddings,
 “ Christenings, and Burials, &c. . . . all which were read at proper Times by
 “ Priests who had not Power to preach. . . . But as even those who were licensed
 “ often ran into, and were soon accused of scandalous Heats and Passions . . . the
 “ King tired with the many Complaints daily made to him . . . against both Par-
 “ ties, . . . ordered that all Sermons should be written and read. This gave Rise to
 “ the Custom still generally followed in *England*, of the Preacher’s reading their Com-
 “ positions.” *Burnet* highly commends that Practice, and it must be owned, that
 it is very advantageous on several Accounts. The Discourses which are intended to
 be read in Churches, and which we call Lectures, are more solid and elaborate, as
 to sound Judgment, Strength of Reasoning, and Purity of Style, than ordinary Ser-
 mons; as may evidently be seen in *Tillotson’s* and *Clark’s*, &c. Performances:
 But they are often apt to soar above the Reach of the common People’s Understand-

^a Catholick Clergy: For the Protestants were certainly of another Mind.

ing, even of those, who tho' they have had a more liberal Education, yet have not a natural Capacity to follow the Thread of a long Argument, and are not used to judge of its Strength. Eloquence on the contrary adapts itself to all Capacities, and makes Impression on the Ignorant as well as on the Learned: Its nicest Art is not incompatible with Christian Simplicity, its Figures being drawn from Nature, and well applied, soften the most obdurate Consciences, and bring them back to the Knowledge and Practice of religious Duties. Thus the Prophets and Apostles made Use of them as Occasion served; and the only and chief Aim of true Eloquence, is to instruct, persuade and reform. If some, not to say most Preachers, employ it to evil Purposes, such as raising Disputes, bitter and injurious Reproaches, sharp Invectives against their Adversaries, false and unconvulsive Arguments, endeavouring from a particular Instance to render the generality of such and such Christian Communion odious; this is downright Sophistry, and the very reverse of the Pattern, set to them by the Apostles and Prophets, who never made Use of Eloquence, but in order to bring their Hearers to the Knowledge of Truth.

THE War of 1542, between the *Scots* and *English*, and the Victory obtained by the latter, occasioned some Beginning of a Reformation^r in *Scotland*: The *Scots* Prisoners, when in *England*, took Notice of the Changes which the King had brought about both in Religion and in the Clergy: They approved of them, as we are told, and carried back into their Country some Notions and Seeds of the new Doctrine. About the same Time the Parliament of *England* made an Act in favour of the true Religion^t, and to abolish that which was contrary to it; and approved the Law concerning the abovementioned six Articles. This Law was a kind of Profession of Faith, which was then looked upon as conformable to the Doctrine of the Apostles: But we shall find by what follow'd, that it was not long in Fashion. The Preamble of this Act complained, that Differences about Religion encouraged some seditious Persons to wrest the Sense of Scripture^u, to alter it in Sermons^v and in Books, to prophane it in their Plays^w and Songs; in order to remedy those Abuses, 'twas thought necessary to draw up a Formulary of Faith, conformable to the Doctrine of the Apostles. To this End, a Translation of the Bible, made by *Tindal*, was forbid, and condemn'd as false, pernicious and erroneous. All Books likewise which contained any Tenet contrary to the six Articles published in 1540, were prohibited, and whoever kept them was liable to Fines and Imprisonment: But other Translations were allowed, yet, says *Burnet*, without Notes or Prefaces. The King's Orders were confirmed, as were also the Catechisms and Books of Instruction, which had been printed in *England* before the Year 1540. Moreover the Parliament forbid the Printing any Book about Religion without Licence, and the explaining Scripture Passages in Plays and expounding the Bible publicly, without the King's, or the Ordi-

^r See more of this hereafter.

^t Meaning the Religion of the then governing Party.

^u This Abuse was occasioned by People of all Ages and Conditions, and we might say of both Sexes, who pretended to preach, and being guided only by a blind Zeal, without any other Knowledge, expounded the Scripture each of them according to their own Fancies, yet thought they preached like Apostles, tho' their only Eloquence consisted in exclaiming against *Rome* and the Pope, under the injurious Characters of Antichrist and *Babylon*. Then indeed they never wanted Words or Reasons; and the *French* Reformers of those Times were endow'd with the same wonderful Facility of speaking.

^v The Books were like the Sermons, the Authors, though ignorant, pretended to be Judges of Religion, and the Bitterness of their Zeal shew'd itself in the very Title Pages of their Books; such as *A Shrine for the Roman Beast*, and the *Downfall of Popish Idolatry*, &c.

^w Several such Songs are still to be found in old Books; the *French* Protestants were guilty of the same Excess; in Henry the IVth of *France* his Days a very injurious one was said to have been made by *Beza* himself. The Roman Catholics have not been remiss in that Sport against Protestants, or against one another. See *Mem. Hist. & Crit.* for 1722.

nary's Permission. Lords, Gentlemen, their Wives, even Tradesmen who were Housekeepers, were allowed to read the Bible, which was forbid to all others; but yet they had leave to keep the Psalter, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Hail Mary, in *English*: All Churchmen who happened to teach any thing contrary to this Act, were obliged, for the first Time, only to a Recantation; for the second, to an Abjuration, and to carry a Faggot upon their Shoulders, as a Mark that they had deserved to be burnt, which they were actually condemned to, if they refused to abjure, or to make publick Satisfaction; but the third Offence was always without Mercy punished with Fire. As to the Laity, their second Offence was followed by the Loss of all their Goods and Chattels, and Imprisonment for Life. *Burnet* says, that this Law, tho' it might allay the Fears of those who were liable to Prosecutions, upon account of the new Opinions, yet it did not entirely remove them; because the King still had it in his Power to recal it when he pleased, so they were left to his Discretion, or rather had nothing to trust to but his inconstant Humour. Accordingly they were persecuted in 1543, and some Protestants were burnt at *Windfor*; because *Henry* being reconciled to the Emperor, and having entered into an offensive and defensive League with him against *France*, began to hearken to the Friends of the old Religion. If we may credit *Burnet*, *Cranmer* himself ^x, who was the Chief of the *Professors of the new Science*, (this was the Name then given, in Derision, to the Protestants) narrowly escaped ^y being ruined by the secret Practices of his Enemies. Nevertheless *Henry* favoured the Protestants in one Point, he prevailed on the Parliament to ordain, "That the Prayers and Litanies used in Processions should be translated into *English*: And this Decree was sent to *Cranmer*, with an absolute Command to publish it in his Province." Not long after some of the principal Dignities of the new Church of *England* were bestowed on several Abettors of the Reformation; but on other Occasions the old Catholics maintained their Ground, and successfully opposed those Reformers. *Henry* ^z, in one of his Speeches to the Parliament, gives us a lively Description of the Faults committed by both Parties in religious Matters; and how far Disorders and Licentiousness prevailed under the Cloak of a Gospel-Reformation: And it must be owned, that all great Revolutions are never exempt from such Disorders, except those only which are truly brought about by the immediate Hand and Power of God; in these, and in no other, Men are kept constant to all their Duties.

SOME Authors positively affirm, that in the Peace concluded between *France* and *England* it was stipulated, that Mass should be changed in both Kingdoms into a plain Communion Service. *Henry* however went on in his sudden Fits of Heat and Fury ^b against the Reformers and their Adherents; several of them were burnt; the Plots against the Archbishop of *Canterbury* were carried on with new Vigour, and Endeavours were used to ruin the Queen (*Catharine Parr*) who protected the Reformers; both these Designs failed, and brought the King's Anger, says *Burnet*, on those who maintained the old Religion: But if he had lived longer, he might have taken them again into Favour. Protestant Authors, and *Burnet* in particular ^c, employ all their Skill to justify this Prince's Conduct, or to palliate his Faults: Ca-

^x *Burnet*, *Hist. of Ref.*

^y The same.

^z In 1545.

^a *Rapin Thoiras*, *Lib. XV.* proves this Story to be without any Grounds, and against all Probability.

^b *Burnet*, *Hist. of Ref.*

^c See *Burnet's Hist. of Ref.*

tholicks, on the contrary, paint him in the worst Colours, to render him odious^d. But may we not question the Impartiality of both Sides? Very few Writers, if any, can entirely lay aside the *Spirit of Party*, which prevails most in religious Disputes, where Custom, Education, and temporal Interest are so deeply concerned. Certain it is, that *Henry the VIIIth* his violent and hasty Temper, his inconstant Humour, the various Circumstances of his Life, chiefly his claiming the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, has procured many Martyrs to both the old and new Religions. Some gave it out, that after his Death his Body burst, and that the Dogs lick up what came from it. This Event was so remarkable, that it could not escape the most severe Reflections from the zealous Catholicks. They looked upon it as the Accomplishment of the Prophecy of one *Payton* a Monk, who had threatened *Henry*; *That the Dogs should lick his Blood, as they had done that of Abab*. A Protestant in the same Circumstances^e would have made the same Use of the pretended Prophecy against a Catholick who should have persecuted him.

DURING the Minority of *Edward the VIth* the Earl of *Hertford*, his Uncle, of the Family of *Seymour*, antiently *St. Maur*, was raised to the Dignity of Protector of the Kingdom. He headed that Party which was for a thorough Reformation, and the Lord Chancellor favoured those of the old Religion^f. The Bishops were commanded to take new Commissions from the King. The Reason of this Order was, that most of them, as 'tis said, were so strenuous in maintaining the old Opinions, that 'twas thought necessary to conquer them by arbitrary Power, which dealt with them as meer Delegates, who held their Dignities only during Pleasure. But afterwards the antient Custom of bestowing Bishopricks for Life was revived. Disputes for and against the Use of Images were renewed and carried on with great Heats and Animosities by the Controversy Writers of both Parties; but it was decreed that the Reformers should get the better. *Luther* had^h tolerated those Monuments of Religion, which serve to fix the rambling Imagination of the common People in their pious Exercises, and supply the Want of *Spirituality* in which they are so notoriously deficient: But *Luther's* Example was not followed in *England*.

HENRY's Funeral Service occasioned an Enquiry to be made into Masses and Obits: Which took their Rise, according to *Burnet*ⁱ, from the Commemoration of the Dead, antiently made in the Communion Service, and *was only*, as he pretends, *a bare Ceremony*, in Memory of those who departed from this World in the true Faith. He says further, that the Opinion of the *Millenarians*, (who believed

^d Some say, that at the Hour of Death he shewed some Tokens of Despair, whilst others pretend he died a Catholick. *Burnet* himself is of this last Opinion, but in a Sense very different from that of the Catholicks; for that Prince, says he, always believed the Tenets of the *Roman Church*, even the most absurd, (as he is pleased to call them) such as Transubstantiation, &c. All Authors agree, that his whole Conduct was much to be blamed, yet with this Difference, that Protestants, as we said before, excuse his Faults as much as they can. His Cruelty was none of the least, he unmercifully put to Death his chief Ministers, *Sir Thomas More* in particular, whose Death was not much lamented by Protestants, because he was not one of their Martyrs: Even Catholick Authors do not spare him upon Account of his Cruelty. They are as severe against his Supremacy, which he was so fond of; and which the Reformers owned with too much Compliance, to gain their Ends. *Bossuet*, *Hist. Variat.* omits no Occasion to censure and ridicule the Reformation.

^e In 1534, *Payton* preaching before the King had taken those Words for the Text of his Sermon. See *Burnet*, *Hist. of Ref.* Lib. 2.

^f Witness the Stories of Persecutors being punished by God, which are carefully set forth by *Jurieu* and several other Protestant Authors.

^g The Chancellor was soon turned out, and the Pope's Adherents had a great Loss of him. See *Burnet*, Lib. 2.

^h *Queen Elizabeth* shewed some Inclination to favour the Use of Images; which was probably occasioned by "her Love for State and Magnificence in the Church, says *Burnet*, as well as in every thing else; "she thought that in her Brother's Reign they had stripped it too much of exterior Ornaments, &c."

ⁱ *Burnet's Hist. of Ref.* Lib. 4.

that Christ was to reign upon Earth a thousand Years, and that the Saints were to rise from the Dead to be Partakers of his Temporal Kingdom) gave a Handle to pray for their Rest and speedy Resurrection. This *Millenarian* System was at last rejected, but the Custom of praying for the Dead was kept up, as being absolutely necessary for their Happiness and Comfort; from a Belief, that though they had served God faithfully, to the best of their Power, as far as human Frailty would permit; still they were punished after their Death for some Sins for which they had not done worthy Fruits of Penance in their Life-time. This is the Substance of what *Burnet* says on this Subject. Even the most zealous and learned Catholics have frankly owned, that some Superstitions crept in amongst the numerous Foundations for Masses; that the Avarice of Churchmen introduced several Abuses, which led the ignorant and weak into Errors: And that such Bargains have often been made about those Foundations, as gave to the Protestants a specious Pretence of applying to them a famous Passage of *Cicero*^k.

'Tis needless to enter into all Particulars, and to transcribe like Slaves what both Parties wrote concerning those Changes in Religion; we shall only glance at, and slightly mention the daily Encroachments against the Commandments of the Church, and some doctrinal Points of less Importance. Some exclaimed against the exterior Pomp and Magnificence of the Ceremonies of the Church, at which the Innovators took so great a Disgust, that they could not bear to hear the Word of God, when preached with such worldly Splendor. Others found Fault with Prayers to Saints to obtain their Intercession: All Honour paid to them was not condemned; but *Calvin's* Doctrine, concerning their Power, began to be in Vogue. A Preacher named *Glasser* publicly inveighed against *Lent* in a Sermon at *St. Paul's*. Three Bishops, *Gardiner*, *Bonner* and *Tunstal*, assisted and protected by Princess *Mary*, used their utmost Endeavours to maintain a declining Religion, whose total Subversion and Downfall *Cranmer* was resolved, and hoped to compass, supported by the Protector, and with the Authority of a young King brought up in all the Sentiments of the Reformers. But what hindered most the Progress of the Reformation, was, says *Burnet*, the profound Ignorance of the Clergy, and their mean and base Avarice, which made them favour Abuses, for the sake of the filthy Lucre they reaped from them. Thus it happens in some bigotted Countries, (we do not intend here to make any odious Applications) that Superstition, grounded at first upon the Ignorance and over Credulity of the People, becomes afterwards the chief Support of Ecclesiastical Tyranny. If this Reflection is solid and true, no Wonder the *English* Clergy, which opposed the Reformation, and still made up then the greatest Part of the Clergy in this Kingdom, struggled so hard to keep up the Abuses. Had they been so complying as to yield up at first some Points which were not of absolute Necessity in Religion; had they quietly submitted to the lessening of an Authority and temporal Power, no ways essential to Christianity, and without which the Church of Christ had prospered and flourished for many Ages, they might probably have prevented a Schism; and Religion would have been more respected and better practised, instead of being rent and torn into Parties and Factions, industriously promoted and increased by the Avarice and Ambition of some particular Men. In order therefore to guard against what was apprehended from that ignorant and superstitious Clergy, the Heads of the Reformation, that is, *Edward* the VIth his Council, appointed an Ecclesia-

^k *Tota res est inventa fallaciis aut ad questum, aut ad superstitionem, aut ad errorem. Cicero, lib. de Divinatione.*

tical Visitation throughout the whole Kingdom, during which all ordinary Jurisdiction of Bishops was suspended: And as the Disputes of those Times made the People wavering and unsettled in their Belief, the Pulpit being made Use of by Churchmen, only to attack and confute each other: "It was enjoined . . . that Bishops should preach only in their Cathedrals, and all other Pastors in their own Churches only . . . a sure and infallible Way, says *Burnet*, to find out what Preachers were favourable to the Reformation, who endeavoured to oppose it, &c." Moreover, a new Book of Homilies, on different Subjects, was published¹ chiefly about Salvation, "to instruct the People about the Manner by which we are saved, according to the Doctrine delivered in the Gospel," and to diminish that extravagant Trust they reposed in Priests, and in the outward Ceremonies prescribed by them for obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven. This is another Abuse into which Churchmen have inconsiderately run, by minding too much their worldly Interest; and which has given a Handle to the Broachers or Followers of new Opinions, to brand the Clergy with the Name of Quacks, who^m brag of mighty Secrets to cure the most stubborn Diseases, provided their Drugs are dearly bought. Most of the Orders and Changes made under *Henry VIII* in religious Worship, and in favour of the Reformers Notions, were then confirmed. Imagesⁿ, Crucifixes in Churches, sprinkling holy Water in private Houses or upon Beds, lighting and setting up of blest Candles, ringing of Bells to be delivered from the Devil's Attacks, to cast him out, and send him down to his own place of Abode, Vows and Pilgrimages, in a word, all the religious Customs which had been discountenanced in *Henry's* Reign, were now quite abolished under *Edward the VIth*. But some were still allowed, which they either would not, or did not dare to abrogate, or which did not appear evil or disagreeable to the Reformation: Such as *Prayers for the Dead with Restriction*. In which^o "God was pray'd to that those Souls, and those who should pray for them, might at the Day of Judgment obtain all together eternal Rest, their Bodies and Souls being reunited."

By Order of the same Council, the greatest Part of which was entirely devoted to all the Measures of those who promoted the Reformation, Bishops were commanded to preach at least four Times in a Year in their own Dioceses, which was still infinitely short of the primitive Practice: It was also strictly enjoined and recommended to them by those Ordinances of the King's Council, to admit none to the Pastoral Office and Cure of Souls, but those of a virtuous Life and Conversation, and such whose sufficient Abilities to preach were well known: And to confer holy Orders on those only whose Piety and Learning might edify and instruct the People committed to their Charge: But this last Article, as well as many others, has been since very much neglected amongst the Reformed; they have had vicious Ministers, subject to all disorderly Passions, ignorant, and whose unedifying Lives were as scandalous, as those with which they have so often and still do reproach the

¹ *Gardiner* and *Bonner* opposed with all their Might the Book of Homilies, and the Orders of the Visitors. *Burnet*, Lib. 4.

^m See *Burnet*, Lib. 4. whose Sense we represent.

ⁿ Some of the Superstitious amongst the Reformers took Notice, that on that very Day in which Images were pulled down in *London* the *English* won the Battle of *Pinkey* against the *Scots*; it was fought the 10th of September 1547. Most of the *Scots* were then zealous Catholics, whereas the *English* were daily deviating from the Tenets and Customs of that Communion; a Proof, said those superstitious Reformers, that God espoused their Cause, and fought for them. But, as *Burnet* himself wisely observes. "it is common to all Men to magnify great Events, when they make for them, but if they are against them, they turn it off by this, that God's Ways are not to be found out."

^o *Burnet* says, that before this new Order, they pray'd for the Souls of the Dead who expect the Mercy of God, and that God would admit them to his Presence on Account of those Prayers.

Catholicks. A true Knowledge of ^p God's interior Call to the Ministry is now very much wanting; this was a Privilege reserved to the Apostles, given them by Christ: But to supply this Defect, and to remedy this Evil in all Christian Communions, the only Way left is to make Choice of those who are the best qualified, and seem called to serve the Church; to inspect narrowly the Attestations and Recommendations with which they are furnished, and which are often too easily granted to the *Candidates* ^q out of Respect to their Friends and Relations; to trust with this Enquiry, and the Examen of those who present themselves, Men of Probity, Prudence, and Learning; to hinder the Pastoral Office from being degraded into a *Battery*, if I may so call it, to attack and beat down the most inoffensive Opinions of their adverse Party: Lastly, this great Dignity of Priesthood should not be conferred as a *Livelihood* to Men of the lowest Extraction, and if possible a worse Education, whose Learning consists only in putting together, without Sense or Choice, a Number of insignificant, empty Sounds, mixt with some awkwardly adapted Figures of Rhetorick, with which they chatter for an Hour or two before a numerous Audience, which stupidly mistakes all this senseless Rhapsody for the pure Word of God. But we now return to the Customs amended or brought on by the Reformation. *Edward's* Council order'd general Prayers should be said before Sermon. *Burnet* assures us this was practised *under the Reign of the Popes, and in Henry the Seventh's Days*. "The Preacher, *says he*, having read his Text, and given the different Parts " of his Discourse, exhorted the Audience to kneel down, to say their Prayers, and " put them in Mind of what they were to beg of Almighty God; either addressing " themselves immediately to him, or by the Intercession of the Saints. Then all " said their Beads, both Priests and Laymen . . . *Henry* blotted out of the Pre- " amble to the Prayer the Names of the Pope and of the Cardinals . . . instead of " which he put in his own, with his new assumed Dignity of supreme Head, to the " End that the People might accustom themselves to it, and still respect him the " more upon Account of a Title daily preached up by their spiritual Leaders." *Cranmer*, who had already obtained a Revocation of the six Articles abovementioned, and of the Laws in Force against the Lollards, who were but the Fore-runners of the new Reformation, which adopted most of their Opinions; *Cranmer*, I say, occasioned the Downfall of private Masses, which, as many other Customs, had degenerated into Superstition, by the Avarice of some, and the scandalous Poverty and Want of most Priests in those Ages. *Burnet* being a Protestant, gives us an Account of the Origin of those Masses truly becoming one of his Persuasion ^r. However the Act of Parliament made towards the Close of the Year 1547, (which ordained that Communion should be administered under both Kinds, and that the Priests should receive together with the People, to whom they were obliged to give the Communion when they desired it with a suitable Devotion :) put an End to the Celebration of private Masses. The same Parliament obliged all Curates to preach to their Parishioners, on the Eve of their performing that Office, and instruct them concerning the great Happiness of worthily receiving the Sacrament, and the Danger to which they exposed themselves, by partaking of it without worthy Fruits of Repentance. This Practice also prevailed amongst the Calvinists; and accordingly they hear a Ser-

^p See *Burnet, Lib. 4.*

^q The Name of *Candidates* is made Use of in this Place, because many Protestants give it to those who present themselves to be admitted to the *Ministry*.

^r See above.

^s *Burnet's Hist. of Ref. Lib. 4.*

mon on the *Saturday* before any *Sunday* on which they receive; and they call it a *Preparation Sermon*.

ABOUT the same Time, the Marquis of *Northampton* took Occasion from *Henry the VIIIth's* late Behaviour, to espouse in the Face of the whole World a second Wife, having first divorced himself under Pretence of Adultery from his first Wife, who was still living. This Affair had been canvassed in *Henry's* Reign; but not being then decided, it was again examined under *Edward the VIth*. Before any Decree about it, the impatient Marquis married; and that Step being once taken, he endeavoured to find out Reasons to justify that it was not against the strictest Rules of conjugal Chastity. The chief Reason he alledged was *Incontinency*, an unruly ungovernable Passion, common to all Religions, as all other human Frailties are, and which burns as fiercely in Catholick as in Protestant Breasts. But to be serious, this Reason, which, if alone, likely might not have met with the Approbation of the Reformers, being backed with some Proofs from ancient History, which were thought favourable to second Marriages, he obtained a Verdict in his Favour. We ought not to be surpris'd at a Decision so apt to quiet disturbed Consciences, or rather so agreeable to the most industrious and most impetuous of all human Passions; if we consider this was an Age in which Priests, Monks and Nuns ran hastily into Matrimony, to rid themselves of what they called the grievous and intolerable Burthen of a forced Chastity. Now could the Reformers, who were so conscious of their own Wants, be so hard hearted as not to compassionate the Wants of their Neighbours, and decide in their Favour? After all, a much harder Case had been judged before, by allowing a *German Prince* * to have two Wives at one and the same Time.

IN the Year 1548, the Ceremonies, usually practis'd on *Candlemas-Day*, *Ascension-day*, *Palm-Sunday*, and in Lent and Holy Week, were brought by the Reformers to a severe Examén, the Result of which was, that Candles, Ashes, and Palms, were forbid on the three first-mentioned Days; that the Honour paid to the Cross on *Good-Friday* was condemned, and that Images were entirely abolished and pulled down. As the chief Design of these Dissertations is to represent the various Customs and Ceremonies of all Religions, we cannot omit *Burnet's* Description of the Honour paid to Images, and other such Rites, which as he represents them were certainly superstitious, to say nothing worse. "No question, *says he*, but some Images occasioned great Scandal, as, for Example, that of the Holy Trinity. On Holy Innocents Day, a Child, chosen by his Play-fellows to personate a Bishop, burnt Frankincense before that Image: From which Custom it may be concluded, that this Incense-Offering was performed on other Days in a more serious Manner, and even by the Bishop himself, if he happened to be present. 'Twas a gross Abuse, to pretend to a Representation of a Mystery so much above all human Comprehension: But the Manner was no less to be found Fault with if we are to judge of it by the Prints still to be seen. God the Father was represented in the Shape of an old Man, with a triple Crown upon, and Rays about his Head: The Son, in another Part of the Picture, looked like a young Man, with a single Crown on his Head, and a radiant Countenance. The Blessed Virgin *Mary* was between them, in a sitting Posture; and the Holy Ghost, under the Appearance of a Dove, spread its Wings over her. This Picture is still to be seen in a Prayer-Book, printed in the Year 1526, according to the Ceremonial of *Salisbury*—

* The Landgrave of *Hesse*.

“ Such a Place given to the Blessed Virgin amongst the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity, seemed intended to call to Mind . . . her Assumption to the Divine Nature, which was heretofore believed by some Heretical Monks The Church had not approved that horrid Abuse; but the Clergy and Laity were accustomed to it by a long Use ” It must be owned, that such Abuses, though they are always condemned, when the Church, after due Examen, has thought fit to deliver her Sentiments and Doctrine by the Mouth and Pens of the Doctors; yet as they are countenanced, or permitted, or tolerated by private Churchmen, they still furnish the Innovators with a specious Pretence of cutting Religion to the Quick; though in Reality the Church of *England* has not gone such Lengths, in that Particular, as other Protestant Communions. The above-specified Retrenchments were followed by an Order from *Edward's* Privy Council, *to preach the pure Word of God, and to exhort the People to renounce all Superstitions, though of the oldest Standing.* We need not repeat here, that amongst those *old Superstitions* the most ancient and universally approved Customs of the primitive Church were involved in the same Condemnation, with those which the temporal Interest of Churchmen had brought into the Church in those dark Ages of Ignorance, when the most essential Duty of the Christian Religion was supposed to consist only in the Deference and Respect paid to its Ministers. The publick Office of the Church was looked into next, and some Doctors were intrusted with that Examen. That of the Blessed Eucharist came first under Consideration, and some Alterations were made in it, tho' much fewer than afterwards. In the preparatory Exhortation to Communion, they spared as yet auricular Confession: The Mystery of Transubstantiation was likewise used with much Tendernefs, for Priests were ordered “ to teach their Parishioners, “ not to be concerned whether they received a larger or a less Share of the consecrated Bread, because the Body of the Lord was contained in each Piece.” Nevertheless the Elevation of the Sacrament was forbid: This Office so reformed was approved by a Declaration of the Parliament and the King's Authority; and proper Measures were taken in order to have the Celebration of the Eucharist kept after the same Fashion through the whole Kingdom on *Easter* Day following. The Circumstances of those Times were such, that this more than half Protestant Office was generally conformed to, without much Difficulty, in all the Provinces subject to the King of *England*: At least, such is the Account given by *Burnet*, who yet excepts *Gardiner*; he it seems was not so compliant, or wanted Faith, and his untimely Steadiness was punished with Imprisonment, to cast a Terror into all those who might have been prompted, by his Example, to disobey the new Laws.

Cranmer's Zeal daily encreasing, he composed a Catechism which contained the chief Tenets and Principles of the Christian Religion (according to the Reformers, or thereabout, for many Alterations were still intended to be made.) But we must go back to the Reformation of the Offices. The various Blessings, of Water, of Salt, of Bread, of Incense, of Candles, of Bells, of Altars, of Images, &c. were looked upon as full of superstitious Practices; and were accordingly suppressed. 'Tis likely those Reformers gave the Epithet of superstitious to many trifling Ceremonies, to many useless Actions which bore a Resemblance to Piety, and yet, to be plain, seem, in Religion, to be too close an Imitation of the Contrivances and senseless Words used by Mountebanks. Catholics, we hope, will excuse this Parallel: It

“ See the Religious Ceremonies of Jews and Catholics, Vol. I.

does not touch the Essentials of Religion, nor its Doctrine, and the best Catholics need not trouble themselves to know, whether Bells are blessed according to every particular Rubrick of the Ritual, or whether Incense has been blessed with so nice and exact an Observation of every nice Ceremony prescribed in the said Book, to make the Devil fly from those Places wherein it is consumed. Besides all these Retrenchments, the Absolution usually given by Priests to the Penitents after Confession was also suppressed: We shall set it down, as being somewhat extraordinary. " " I absolve you (said the Priest to his Penitent) in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: And grant to you, that all the Indulgences which you have or shall obtain from any Bishop whatever, all the Blessings accruing from thence, your Devotion in taking Holy Water, or beating your Breast, the Contrition of your Heart, your present devout Confession, and all those you shall make, your Fasts, Abstinences, Alms, Watchings, taking Disciplines, your Pilgrimages, and all the good Actions you have done or shall do, all the Afflictions you have borne, or shall bear, the Sufferings and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Merits of the glorious and blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of all other Saints, and the Prayers of the whole Catholick Church, may be available to you, for obtaining the Remission of all those Sins which you have confessed, and of all your other Sins, for the increase of your Merits, and for the Enjoyment of eternal Rewards." The Prayers used at giving the Extreme-Unction and the Absolution given to the Dead at their Interment were also taken away. " These Customs had fully persuaded common People (says *Burnet*) that besides the plain and obvious Way, set down in the Gospel, to obtain Salvation, there was some hidden Path which led Mankind thither, and was known by the Priests only; so that by purchasing their Friendship one might be sure of going to Heaven, without submitting during the whole Course of this Life to the Yoke of the Gospel." The new Office-Book, out of which several Holydays had been retrenched, their Number having been, they say, prodigious before, was put into the Hands of the Laity in the vulgar Tongue. The Prayers and Litanies were entirely altered, yet one Prayer was left in it, by which, making at the same Time several Signs of the Cross, Almighty God was desired to give his Blessing to the *Creatures of Bread and Wine*, that they might afterwards become to the Receivers the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. But in Process of Time the Prayer and the Signs of the Cross, which accompanied it, were both left out. Several Ceremonies used at Baptism, Confirmation, the Communion of the Sick, and the Office for the Dead, &c. were likewise abolished. The Church Office, so mangled and castrated, was called the *English* Liturgy, from which we shall represent the Ceremonies of the Church which bears the same Name. Yet this Liturgy, published under *Edward* the VIth, was new modelled in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

WE must not omit mentioning in this Place, that *Cranmer* had invited into *England* *Peter Martyr*, a noted Reformer, being desirous to be helped by his Learning, and to take his Advice about the Plan of his intended Reformation: *Calvin* was also consulted, who proposed what he thought fit. And as he had squared, if I may use that Expression, the Severity of his Doctrine and Reformation, to the Moroseness of his own Temper, his Letter to the Protector of *England* is full of Invectives against the *English* Reformation, as being too slow in its Progress, and still over loaded with

* *Burnet's Hist. of Ref. Lib. 4.*

Ceremonies which he thought deserved Condemnation, and were only spared out of too much Regard for human Policy. This first Contriver of the rigid Reformation, named *Calvinism* in France, had some great Endowments, but gave many Proofs of an impatient and despotick Humour, mixed with that Sourness in controversial Disputes, and that fretful Peevishness which imperceptibly leads to what may be called *Theological Hatred*. His Adherents and Successors have inherited this Moroseness, and without intending any odious Application, we may say, that those who came after him copied his Faults much more than his commendable Qualities. However 'twas not for want of his earnest Endeavours, that the *English* Reformation was not modelled according to his Notions.

CELIBACY was brought on the Anvil in the Parliament; after some Deliberations on that Subject, Priests were allowed to marry, and the Laws against it were repealed: The chief Reason on which this Decision was grounded was their Incontinency, which had led them into enormous Sins: It was much easier to find evident and legal Proofs of those Disorders, than to settle the Belief of the controverted Points of Doctrine. All *Europe*, and the Court of *Rome* itself, could not disown the Justice of those Reproaches, and not to rehearse here what Historians and even great Doctors in the Church have left in their Writings concerning it; the Poetical Works of the *Mantuan*, of *Sannazarius*, and of *Buchanan* are full of undeniable Proofs of it.

AN important Remark had almost escaped us: In the Act of Parliament made to approve, and enjoin the Use of the New Liturgy, it is said, that the Commissioners appointed by the King to draw up a Form of divine Service, which should be used throughout the whole Kingdom, and in which the pure Doctrine established in Scripture might be preserved, &c. had finished their Work with an unanimous Consent, and by the Assistance of the Holy Ghost. But as this Holy Spirit is not subject to Change, and that nevertheless the Compilers of that Liturgy might think it necessary to make some further Alterations in it, to prevent the Objection which might be raised, it was added, that this Assistance was not supposed to have been a supernatural Inspiration, but it was meant, that "all our good Thoughts and holy Resolutions were produced and strengthened by a secret Influence of the Spirit of God, which often helps the Faithful even in those Actions which are mixed with some Imperfection; and that then, what is good in them is, with Justice, attributed to the Grace of God." By the Help of this nice Distinction they were enabled, 1. To justify all the Alterations then made, or hereafter to be made, in their proper Order, and as Time should serve the Reformers. 2. To excuse all the human Policy and personal Faults they were guilty of. 3. To persuade themselves, that many Actions, though done out of very equivocal Views, were just, and those sinister Intentions rectify'd by the secret Influence of the Holy Ghost. By the same favourable Turn, all the secret Cabals and Intrigues of ecclesiastical Assemblies will infallibly be said to be accompanied by the Grace of God; and it will be boldly asserted, that it helps them in their Imperfections, and is the Origin and Mover of what is good in them.

A NEW Visit made in the Year 1549, occasion'd further Reformations, in Things, which, it must be owned, were of little or no Importance; but, after what had been done in regard of other religious Observances, could not but be look'd upon as superstitious. The Rites here meant are, Kissing the Altar, the Priest's making so many Signs of the Cross, moving the Book from one Side of the Altar to the other at Mass, or, as they called it, at the Communion Service, saying Beads, and the frequent Repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and Hail Mary in *Latin*. But something

more essential happened. There were hot Disputes * about the Manner of Christ's being in the Sacrament. The *Corporeal Presence* was warmly attacked, and defended with so much Strength, that it withstood for that Time, all the Endeavours of the Reformers, and the Divines they had called in to their Help. The Anabaptists, and their fanatical Opinions, were also vigorously assaulted, and found no Mercy † from the Protestants, who condemned them to be burnt, when they found that they could not either convince them ‡ or persuade them to a feigned Abjuration of their erroneous Opinions. The Reformation, that fruitful Parent of all Sorts of Sects, produced also in this Age some rigid *Predestinarians*, who commonly became Libertines, or ended their Lives in Despair, a natural Consequence of the *eternal Decree*, which was † Calvin's favourite Opinion, and of his Sectaries: The dangerous and dreadful Conclusions drawn from it, made no Impression on his inflexible Temper; on the contrary, he alledged, in order to justify it, a Reason which is very much in Favour of all Mysteries, and of whatever Opinions Men can give no rational Account. "He was so cautious, says *Burnet*, as to admonish his Followers, "to abstain from thinking much on that Subject, because it was a Secret which "the Shallowness of human Understanding could not comprehend: But, continues "the same Historian, he himself did not clearly prove, that those Consequences "did not flow from that System."

In the Beginning of the Year 1550, an Order came out, to give up into the King's Commissioners Hands, all the Books made Use of in the publick Service of the old Religion, Antiphonals, Missals, Graduals, Processionals, &c. as likewise those which contained the Ordinations of Bishops, and other Ministers of the Church, because a Resolution had been taken, to alter the Form of conferring Orders, and to make it as plain as possible, that is to reduce it to the sole Imposition of Hands, accompanied by Prayer. The other Ceremonies were looked upon only as so much dazzling Imbroidery, fit only to raise the Vanity of those who wear it, but which adds nothing to the Dignity of Religion, or to the Worth of its Ministers: It may be too true, that the Pomp with which they are admitted to that Office, contributes to the high Idea they have of themselves. Some have also taken Notice, that the anointing Priests was not used till such Times, when they resolved in earnest to shake off, and free themselves from the Power of temporal Princes; endeavouring to prove by that Ceremony, that their Persons were as sacred and inviolable as those of Kings, whom they affected by it to resemble. They also apply'd to themselves literally all the Places of Scripture in which the Faithful are called a Royal Priesthood. The Change of the Rites brought none in the Dress, only one *Hooper*, a reforming Bishop, would

* Though such Controversies ought to be debated with the utmost Gravity and serious Deportment, they became too often ludicrous. *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, disputing about the corporeal Presence of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, against *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, asked of the latter, whether he believed that Christ in the Eucharist had a Face, a Mouth, Eyes, a Nose, &c. One may easily guess how far such a Detail might be carried.

† The *English* Protestants of those Days were no ways inclined to Toleration: Besides burning the Anabaptists, was it not a great Want of it which occasioned the many Prosecutions set on Foot against those who did not come to the Churches of the new Reform, or who heard Mass? All these Facts may be seen in *Burnet*. But human Policy required it, and who knows but those Protestants thought that a secret Influence of the Holy Ghost inspired them, and was accompanying what was imperfect in that Conduct, and claimed as its own what might be good in it.

‡ *Edward* refused at first to sign the Condemnation of one *J. Kent*, to be burnt, and shed Tears when he was at last prevailed upon to do it by the repeated pressing Sollicitations of zealous *Cranmer*. *Rapin Thoiras* owns, that was a Blemish in the Archbishop's Character, *Lib.* 16. and *Chevr.* . . . his Abbreviator, ends his *Fleurishes* on that Passage of *Rapin* with a seemingly contradictory Saying, that *Cranmer* committed that Excess, without being inclined to Cruelty." See *Tom.* 3.

† This Word Sect and Sectaries is used without any Intention to give Offence.

never consent to be consecrated with the Pontifical Robes, saying they were too gaudy, and repugnant to Christian Simplicity: He never would yield up that Point, and all the Arguments urged to him to convince him that such a Practice was not an Error in Religion, were fruitless. Probably *Hooper*^b was of an obstinate inflexible Humour, which never foresees the Evil Tendency of their Stubbornness: When such Men are punished, or suffer for their Opinions, Bigots are always ready to honour them as Martyrs.

TOWARDS the close of the Year 1550, as *Burnet* informs us, the Reformers reviewed and amended their new Liturgy. *Bucer*, who gave a helping Hand to these Corrections by his Advice, was of Opinion, that the Dress of Bishops and Priests should be altered, in order to prevent those Divisions, of which *Hooper* had so lately given an Example; that the blessed Eucharist should be put in the Hand, and not in the Mouth of the Communicants; that a Prayer, which seemed to be for the Dead, should be left out, and that of the Communion changed^c, as *smelling too rank of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation*; that the Ceremonies of Chrism, Holy Water, and the white Garment, should be omitted in Baptism, and alter the Exorcisms into plain Prayers; that the Anointing the Sick with Oil, the offering a Candle by Women newly delivered, when they came to Church to give God Thanks, should be left off, &c. not to mention several other Remarks of *Bucer*, who wrote at that Time a Book for the young King's Use, in which he proposed a much larger Plan of Reformation and Discipline, which Project the young Monarch would probably have put in Execution, if he had lived longer^d. *Bucer* himself died at Cambridge in the Month of January.

THE Profession of Faith of the *English* Reformers was drawn up by the new Doctors; it was begun in 1551, and ended in January 1552. *Burnet* relates it at length in forty two Articles: Of which the most remarkable are the third, which owns the Truth of Christ's descending into Hell: The fifth, accepting Scripture as the only Rule of Faith: The seventh, enforcing the Belief of the three Creeds, that of the Apostles, that of *Nice* or *Constantinople*, and that of St. *Athanasius*: The ninth, which denies Free Will: The thirteenth, against Works of Supererogation: The fifteenth, which says, that after receiving Grace, Christians may happen to commit Sins, in which Case they must recover their Loss by Repentance: The sixteenth, gives this Definition of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, an inveterate Malice, and an invincible Stubbornness in opposing, wresting, and persecuting the Word of God, even when fully convinced of its Truth: The seventeenth, about Predestination: The twentieth, concerns the characteristic Marks of the Church, and taxes with Error the Church of *Rome*: The twenty-first declares, that in Points of Faith, the Church has not Power to add any Thing to the Scripture: The twenty-second, rejects the Infallibility of Councils, &c. The twenty-third, against Purgatory, Indulgences, Images, Relicks, &c. The twenty-fifth, enforces the Necessity of performing the publick Service, in a Language understood by the People: The twenty-sixth and twen-

^b "He consented afterwards to put them on at his Consecration and whenever he should preach either before the King or in his Cathedral Church, &c. Upon these Conditions he was dispensed from wearing episcopal Robes at other Times." *Hooper* then may be considered as the Head of the Non-Conformists, or Puritans. See *Neal* in his *History of Puritans*.

^c See *Neal* above.

^d At the same Time Bishop *Ridley* forbade the dressing up of Altars in his Diocese, changed them into plain Tables (which are still called Altars by the Episcopal Reformed Church of *England*) and abolished some Abuses and Ceremonies which had escaped the Downfall of the old Religion, as washing of Hands at the Altar, Elevation of the Host, cleaning the Chalice with the Tongue, &c.

ty-seventh reduce the Number of the Sacraments to two, reject the *Opus operatum*, and yet maintain that they have their full Force and Efficacy independently of the Disposition and Intention of the Ministers who confer them, &c. The twenty-ninth, against Transubstantiation, &c. The thirtieth is but a Sequel of the former: The thirty-first, against the Celibacy of Priests: The thirty-fifth confirms the new Liturgy: The thirty-sixth condemns the Pope's Supremacy, and asserts to the Kings of *England*, the Quality of Head of the Church: The fortieth regards the Condition of departed Souls, which are said not to be in a State of Sleep, nor deprived of all Sentiments till the General Judgment: The forty-first condemns the *Millenarians*: The forty-second says, the Pains of the Damned are not limited to a certain Time. But to return to the Review of the Liturgy; several Parts of it had been kept only for a Time, as 'tis said, and were afterwards put out. Extreme Unction, therefore, the Use of Chrism at Confirmation, whatever in the Consecration of the Eucharist seemed still to favour the corporeal Presence of Christ, and the Signs of the Cross in the Communion Service, and at Confirmation, all this was abolished; yet the kneeling when they received, was preserved. "In the daily Office both for the Morning and Night a general Confession of Sins was inserted . . . and they joined to it a general Absolution, by which the Priest published from God a Remission of their Sins to all those who were deeply touched with true Sentiments of Repentance This was thought more profitable than an indeterminate, unfined Absolution, such as had before been given by Priests at Confession." To inspire with more Devotion all those who should approach the Table¹ to receive: "The ten Commandments were ordered to be read aloud at the Beginning of the Communion Service, and that after each a small Pause should be made to help the Devotion of the Audience, and give them an Opportunity during that Interval to beg Pardon of God for their Disobedience to the Precept, and Grace to do better hereafter." Such were the most material Alterations. "And, except a few insignificant Particulars changed, or rather amended, since, (all this is taken from *Burnet*) with no other Design, but to explain some equivocal and obscure Passages of the Liturgy, it was then the same as we read it now."

THE Reformers having thus *purged*, as they term it, both the Doctrine and publick Service, apply'd their Study to reform the Discipline of the Church; to draw up ecclesiastical Constitutions, to set Limits to its Jurisdiction, to regulate the Proceedings of Spiritual Courts, and the various Duties of those who were to bear the Sway. The Year 1552 was spent therein. As to Particulars, they may be found in *English* Authors, chiefly in *Burnet*.

THE new Way of making Bishops, which, joined to the curtailing the Ceremonies of the *Roman* Pontifical, gave a Pretence to call in question the Validity of the *English* Ordinations, must be referred to the Reign of *Edward*. "Bishops in his Time were created by the King's Letters Patent. They first declared how such a See became vacant by Death, Deposition, Translation, or Demission. The King then added, that being informed of the good Qualifications of N he named him to that Bishoprick for the Time of his *natural Life*, or whilst he behaved well. After which the King gave him Power to ordain or depose Ministers, to name proper Subjects to the Benefices of his Diocese, &c. . . . in a Word, to exercise all the Functions of the Pastoral Office, as far as the Word of

¹ See in *Burnet*, *Lib. 4.* why it was kept up.

² Thus Protestants express the very Act of Receiving.

" God puts it in the Bishop's Power: But all this was to be done in the King's Name, and by his Authority. . . . The Day following the Expedition of those Letters, an Attestation of their Validity was sent to the Archbishop under the Broad-Seal, with an Order to consecrate the new Bishop . . . Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, and translated since to Bath and Wells, was the first so created by the King . . . in the second Year of his Reign . . . yet from this Way of constituting Bishops it may be concluded, that the Ministers of State acknowledged some divine Authority residing in the episcopal Character; and that the King named whom he judged proper to vacant Bishopricks, only in the same Manner as other lay Patrons name to Livings. These Letters only gave to the Person therein named Power to exercise . . . the Functions of a Bishop, which Dignity he was to be invested with by the Imposition of Hands . . . so far were they from thinking, as some have pretended, that the Ecclesiasticks, thus promoted to episcopal Dignity, were not true Bishops, or only the King's Bishops, and not of the Church of Christ." This is taken out of *Burnet*; more of it will be said hereafter.

Edward died in 1553, not above sixteen Years old. The Reformers were very sensible of their Loss, in being deprived of a Prince, who, though so very young, gave such early Proofs of a solid Piety. For if we consider him only as a Christian, it must be owned, his Devotion was sincere, and by the free and open Ingenuity which accompanied it, rather added to, than borrowed Lustre from, the high Station he was in. Again if we behold him in the same View of a Christian, it may be asserted boldly, that he was endowed with all the Virtues^a essential to Religion. Queen *Mary* succeeded him, and pulled down the whole Fabrick of the Reformation. We shall not entertain our Readers with the Disputes of both Parties in the Beginning of her Reign, nor with the capital Punishments which followed those Controversies, according to the Answer which one *Weston* made to a Protestant^b. But we must take Notice here of what *Burnet* says, that those who had been ordained according to *Edward's* Ceremonial, were not re-ordained under *Mary's* Government; 'twas thought sufficient to reconcile them to the Church, and to add to the *English* Form of Ordinations the Ceremonies prescribed in the *Roman* Pontifical, which had been omitted. Yet the same *Burnet* relates, that in burning the Protestant Bishops, the *English* Catholics " followed the old Maxim, that Ordination given in Schism is not valid. Hooper and Ridley, not being owned as Bishops, were only degraded from Priesthood, yet, says *Burnet*, both had been ordained according to the old Rite, except taking the Oath of Fidelity to the Pope: As for the others, who had been ordained by the new Ceremonial, they were not at all degraded, and the Reason alledged was, that they were not truly in Orders."

MARY's Persecution rather inflamed the Zeal of the Protestants, than served to cool it: And 'tis the common Fate, of all those who are against Toleration, to be thus deceived: Heathens indeed might exercise all manner of Cruelty against the first

^a No more to be alledged against him than the Prejudices which the Reformers instilled into his tender Mind against what they called *Papery*. He often shewed Tokens of an implacable Hatred for the Roman Catholick Religion, and might, in Time, with such Dispositions, have commenced a *Persecutor* and a *Bigot*. This appears farther by his refusing, though against the Opinion of his Council, to give his Sister, Princess *Mary*, the free Exercise of her Religion. He looked upon it as his indispensable Duty to extirpate Idolatry; this he, with other Protestants, thought the Religion of his Fathers was guilty of, though the Catholics always disown it. In any other but a religious Dispute such a Denial would quiet it, and calm their Fury. But *Edward* was fully and sincerely persuaded, that Roman Catholics made Images to the Likeness of the Divine Majesty, and then paid Adoration to them. See *Bossuet's Hist. Var. Lib. 7.* about a Collection of Passages and common Places against Images, gathered by that Prince.

^b A very low Pun, You have the Word, (said *Weston*) we have the Sword.

Christians, and be almost forgiven: But how can the Meekness of the Gospel be reconciled to Christians persecuting one the other? This is a plain Contradiction, which no Minister of any Church, or Christian Communion, can justify, without arrogating to himself a Power which belongs only to God. 'Tis strange, after all this, ⁱ that no Sect whatever has acted upon Principles of Toleration; that all those who have been at the Head, and the Managers of any Party, have always found it, or thought it, advantageous to persecute their Adversaries; even those who have not the Power in their Hands, 'tis to be feared, hate not only the Heresy, but Hereticks likewise, and *mentally burn them*.

CRANMER, who may justly be deemed the Apostle of the Reformation of England, was degraded and burnt with some other *English* Prelates. He had solemnly and publickly ^k recanted, and by that Recantation might probably have saved his Life, had Queen Mary considered him only as a Broacher of Heresies; but she looked upon Cranmer, though become a Convert, as the Man who had authorised Henry the VIIIth's Divorce from Catharine of Arragon, her Mother. So necessary it is to distinguish the Zeal of devout People for the Glory of God, from the human Passions to which they give Way: These latter however were screened in this Case by the specious Pretence of punishing an Heresiarch, who had poisoned all England with his erroneous Doctrine. Burnet gives us the extract of a Sermon, preached by one Cole, who was present at this heretical Archbishop's Execution; which, if true, shews that the Spirit of Contradiction, and ecclesiastical Hypocrisy ^l, had an equal Share in that Catastrophe. 'Tis a Shame that Religion should be justify'd by Reasons so unworthy of Christian Sincerity and Uprightness.

WE may date, from this Time, according to Burnet's Account, the Beginnings of the *English* Presbyterians. Mary's Persecution drove many Reformers into foreign Countries, especially towards *Frankfort*. "These, says Burnet, found the Ceremonies of the Country in which they then lived agreeable to their Way of thinking: "So laying aside the Liturgy of *Edward*, they compiled another, according to the "Plan of *Geneva* and of the *French* reformed Churches. This Step highly displeased "the rest of the *English*, who thought that leaving off a Form of Divine Worship, "whilst the Authors of it were maintaining the Truth of it, and sealing their "Testimony with their own Blood, was a Mark of Contempt for their Persons, "and too little Concern for their Sufferings." This short Narrative introduces two Reflections of some Moment; the first is, in all Sects whatever, the Generality are less concerned for the Doctrine which should unite them, than for those who cement that Union by Formularies and Liturgies, to which, in process of Time, an infinite Deference is paid: No Wonder then, that most Men hate Novelties; that the clearing up even the most indifferent Points, which no ways endanger Salvation, becomes an odious Task; and that the profound Veneration paid to Formularies, soon or late,

ⁱ Some Sort of Persecution may be thought necessary to prevent Libertinism in Religion; Dissenters, for Example, from the standing Worship of any Country, may be hindered from the publick Exercise of their Religion, from publick Offices of Trust and Profit; still without forcing their Consciences, by depriving them of Life, or Liberty, or Possessions, or Birth-Rights. No Sect could then justly complain; & for Atheists and Fanatics (if it is evidently proved that they are *Disturbers of Civil Society by Dogmatizing*) let them be dealt with as State Criminals.

^k This Weakness, says Father *Orleans*, was a Dishonour to Protestants . . . He became a Catholic to save his Life, and died a Protestant to be revenged on those who put him to Death: This is witty; but Cranmer's Character in *Bossuet*, *Lib. 7* is far more solid.

^l This Hypocrisy appeared also in the Trials of *Bucer* and *Fagius*. They were cited, though dead, or any body to appear for them: They could not; it was not safe for any one else: They were condemned, their Bodies burnt, and a Bishop said in his Discourse on that Occasion, *that the Judges were unwilling to come to such Extremities*.

bring on a kind of Tradition, and that Respect for Antiquity, with which the *Christians* of the first Ages reproached the Pagans, with so much more Grounds, that one of the greatest Men amongst the Heathens, writing to an intimate Friend, made no Difficulty to recommend to him a Veneration^m even for Fables. The second Remark is, that this pretended Contempt for those Persons who had changed the Liturgy, was, of itself, capable to produce in Time the most inveterate Animosities. "Disputes ran daily higher and higher, (says our Historian of the Reformation, Cox went to *Francfort* and obtained an Order from the Magistrates, "That the *English* Church of that Place should make Use of no other Form of "divine Service than that of *England*. This did not end the Quarrel, it went further "than was thought at first. Those who were inclined to follow the Discipline of "Geneva began to censure and find Fault with several Parts of the *English* "Liturgy. One *Knox*ⁿ, a violent and turbulent Man, carried on the Controversy "with all possible Heat, engaged *Calvin* in the Quarrel, and made him write upon "that Subject in such a Manner as was most likely to exasperate both Parties "Several other Occurrences widened the Breach. They disputed warmly about "ecclesiastical Censures and the Debates at last were so irritated on both "Sides, that a Paper War ensued, in which all the Bitterness which the rankest "Animosity could suggest was display'd and that about Subjects "no ways essential to Christianity, and of no Importance, as to Conscience "Such were the Seeds^o of those Divisions which have, and still do, embroil the Reformers of *England*."

Something must be mentioned likewise of the Treatment which the Bible, translated into *English*, met with. It was burnt, not as heretical, for no Christians would entertain such Thoughts of Scripture: 'Tis likely therefore that it was condemned to the Flames, as being falsely translated, or as useless, and even dangerous, to the Laity, or as a Snare made Use of to lead the People head-long into Heresy. Those who burnt it were, to be sure, persuaded it was obnoxious to those three Accusations; but the two last were judged ill-grounded in *France*, where it has been translated, interpreted, paraphrased, and commented upon several times in the vulgar Language of that Country, to be used universally by the Laity; and though there are not wanting those who disapprove this Conduct towards a Book which, in their Opinion, seems to favour Heresy; chiefly amongst the *Italians*, who have as great a Respect for their *Holy Land* of *Italy*, as *Pliny*^p would have inspired into his Friend for *Greece*: 'Tis likely the Bible will maintain its Ground to the End of the World, and that no Fault will be found with it, except that external one of being read^q without reaping any Advantage by it.

QUEEN

^m *Sit apud te honor . . . Fabulis quoque.* So *Pliny*, *Lib. 8. Ep. 24.* writes to a Friend who was going to *Greece* in Quality of a Magistrate. And as most Men are Slaves to the Forms, Order, and System of their Religion, good or bad they do not enquire, there are but few who act otherwise than *Pliny* advises; they leave to others the Trouble of enquiring and examining for them.

ⁿ He may also be called a Fanatick. He called *Edward's English Liturgy* a *superstitious Model* borrowed from the *Papists*. From this his Character flowed the seditious Opinions he broached, and which at last brought *Charles* the First to the Block. He also feigned himself a Prophet. This Man began the *Scots* Reformation, and certainly was no Apostle, unless a hot, fiery, and bitter Zeal, so often condemned by *Christ*, should be thought a necessary Qualification of an Apostle. See *Knox's Life*, in a Book printed at *London* in 1644, under the Title of *An History of the Reformation of Scotland*. It breathes nothing but Fanaticism, and accordingly was made publick under *Cromwel*.

^o See *Neal's History of the Puritans*, printed in 1732.

^p *Habe ante oculos, hanc esse terram, quæ nobis misit jura, quæ leges victa non acceperit, sed . . . dederit,* &c. says *Pliny*, *Lib. 8. Ep. 24.*

^q The Author of *Occasional Thoughts in Reference to a virtuous or Christian Life*, printed in 1705, says, that this is occasioned by its being read with a Mind prejudiced in Favour of the Opinions of their Masters

QUEEN *Mary's* Death, if the Expression may be allowed, proved mortal to the Catholick Religion in *England*, and brought again the Reformed to Life. *Elizabeth*, who succeeded *Mary*, had been brought up with the utmost Antipathy against the Pope and the Religion of which he is the Head. But on the other Side, she loved Ceremonies and Spondor in the religious Worship: This was the Reason for which the outward and the ceremonious Part of the *English* Reformation was settled, as we now see it in that Part of the Protestant Communion which is called *the Church of England, or High Church*. She no sooner came to the Crown, but the Protestants shewed as much Zeal in pulling down Images, affronting Priests, abolishing the Mass, &c. as the Roman Catholicks had done in repairing the Breaches made in their Religion. The new Queen ordered first, that the Epistles and Gospels, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Decalogue, should be read in *English*. The Litanies were sung in the same Language, and the Priests omitted the Elevation of the blessed Sacrament. The first Parliament convened in her Reign granted to the Crown the Tythes and First-fruits, bestowed on the Queen the Title of 'Head of the Church, and gave to the People leave to have Divine Service performed in the vulgar Tongue, and to receive under both Kinds, &c.

Some Conferences about Religion had been held between the Catholicks and Protestants, the Result of which was, that each Side persisted in its own Opinions, they were displeased one with the other, and according to Custom reciprocally bestowed on their Adversaries the Appellation of Shufflers, Calumniators, Tricksters, &c. However that be, the Protestant Party was victorious in the End; for the Parliament made an Act to *establish Uniformity in the Church Service*, and appointed Protestant Divines to review *Edward's* Liturgy. Burnet, whom we follow, assures us, that "the only considerable Alteration made by those Commissioners was in the Article of the Eucharist. They intended to draw up an Office for the Communion couched in such nice Terms as to avoid declaring against a corporeal Presence, and by that Means unite all the *English* into one and the same Church, most of them being possessed with that Opinion". On this Account the Divines were ordered to say nothing against it, and to leave it undecided, as a speculative Notion, which was left to every one's Choice, either to believe or reject it. In Order to compass this Design, the Rubrick of *Edward's* Liturgy (which explained upon what Consideration the Communion was received kneeling in the Church of *England*) was expunged. The said Rubrick said, *that it was not intended by that Ceremony to pay any Adoration to a corporeal Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, which were in Heaven, and no where else*. They made likewise another Amendment of the same Nature. In *Edward's* first Liturgy, the Priest giving the Communion, said to

or Doctors; so that every one finds in it the Tenets of his Sect only, &c. See Pag. 134. But how can this be helped? Is every Christian capable of examining every Point of Controversy? Or shall we say, it must be read only to learn the Moral Duties, and only relying on the Authority of God who inspired it, doctrinal Controversies laid aside. But then a Man who loves religious Disputes will pretend, *Cicero's Book of Offices* is as good for that as the *Bible*.

¹ See Burnet, Lib. VI. and Bossuet, Lib. X.

² See Bossuet, as above-cited, about *Elizabeth's* being unwilling to accept of that Title. But Mr. Chevr. . . . who, to be sure knew more of the Matter than Bossuet or Burnet, very cunningly explains this Scrupulosity of *Elizabeth*. "Two Motives, says he, engaged her to reject the Title of *Supreme Head*: First, that the Catholicks might be more easily prevailed upon to own her ecclesiastical Supremacy, couched in softer Terms, and more apt to quiet their tender Consciences: Secondly, that this Title was due to the Founder of the Christian Religion, and to him only." See *Abridg. of the Hist of Eng. Tom. 4.* What Pity 'tis all the World is not acquainted with that Writer's Penetration into the inmost Recesses of scrupulous and tender Consciences?

³ See Bossuet, as above-cited.

“ the Receivers, *May the Body or Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep your Body and your Soul unto Life everlasting.* At the second publishing of *Edward's Liturgy* those Words were left out as too favourable to the Belief of a corporeal Presence, instead of which, the following were inserted. *Take this and eat, remembering that Christ died for you, feed on him in your Heart by Faith, and with Thanksgiving.* Or, in taking the Chalice, *Drink this in remembrance that the Blood of Jesus Christ was spilt for you, and give him Thanks.* The Turn of both these Expressions answering the Intention of the Commissioners, they resolved to blend them together; and they altered likewise some Prayers.” The Catholics strongly opposed the new Corrections of the Liturgy, and one of them said openly in Parliament, “ that the new Religion had admitted of, and suffered, Revolutions every two Years, of which he brought as a palpable Evidence the Doctrine concerning the Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.” The same Party were also violently bent against the other Alterations, chiefly against the Queen's ecclesiastical Supremacy, which Repugnance occasioned the Deprivation of all the Catholick Bishops who lost their Bishopricks. After this *Elizabeth* went on, and entirely re-established the Reformation; she even added some new Regulations to what had been done by *Edward*. She withstood, for a considerable Time, all Petitions to pull down Images, but could not overcome the repeated Intreaties of the Protestant Bishops of those Days against Images: And their Successors shewed as much Severity against Pictures, both which are infinitely less dangerous than the unbounded Liberty which is daily taken of writing and publishing scandalous Libels against the Christian Religion; which we do not find that Protestants endeavour much to restrain. Could not the Use of Images have been kept up in Churches, either as being barely ornamental, or as a Subject of Edification to the common People; and these kept within such narrow and due Bounds by Pastoral Instructions against the superstitious Use of them, to which they are naturally inclined? However *Elizabeth's* new Regulations, as far as they concern the Customs and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, are as follow.

“ To prevent the indecent and scandalous manner in which several Priests had contracted Marriages, she ordered that no Priest or Deacon should marry without the Consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, the Knowledge of two Justices of the Peace, and the Approbation of the Woman's Relations and Friends. Churchmen were commanded to use the same Dress as at the two Universities (*Oxford* and *Cambridge*) according to the different Degrees they should have taken there . . . Tavern-keepers and other publick Houses were forbid selling . . . during the Time of divine Service . . . No Preachers were allowed to exercise that Function without first obtaining Leave from the Ordinaries of those Places in which they resided . . . She gave Power to the Bishops to name in each Parish some discreet and prudent Persons, who should oblige all the Parishioners to go to Church every *Sunday* and *Holiday* . . . And whoever, after due Admonition and Exhortation, should be found deficient in that Duty, was to be prosecuted according to the utmost Seve-

^u She was convinced that Decency and good Order required that Ministers should be distinguished by their Dress. See *Burnet, Lib. VI.*

^w *Mr. Chevr. Tom. 4.* inveighs bitterly against the Roman Catholics, *his ancient Brethren*; but, at last, speaks with much Equity and Judgment of this Conduct of *Elizabeth*. “ The Parliament, says he, . . . imposed grievous Penalties on all *English* Subjects who should refuse being present at the Divine Service, as by Law established. This Statute excepted no one; all Sects, even of Protestants, were obliged to comply with it. Thus was renewed that Constraint so much detested and complained of under the despotick Government of *Henry the VIIIth.* *Elizabeth* exceeded even her Father in the absolute Dominion over Men's Consciences, &c.” This Behaviour, as it suited the political Views of those Times, so it becomes a new Proof, that the Reformation is only stamp'd with the Seal of human Nature.

" rity of the Law. She further commanded, that the Prayers appointed for the common Service, and the Litanies should be read on all *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*; that they should be severely punished * who should reproach others with the odious Names of Papist, Heretick, Schismatick, &c. that no Book should be printed without being licensed by one of the Archbishops, or the Bishop of *London*, or one of the Chancellors of the two Universities, or the Bishop of the Diocese, or Archdeacon of the Place: That Prayers should be said kneeling, and that they should bow at the Name of *Jesus* &c." As to the Bread which was to serve for the Communion, she ordered it to be " plain Bread, of a round Figure, somewhat larger and thicker than Wafers, without any Representation stamp upon it: Moreover she altered the Prayer which is said immediately before the Sermon, in which mention was made of the Saints in these Words: *That they with us, and we with them, may be able, all of us, to rise again unto Glory*; the three first, *they with us*, were left out, as being too favourable to praying for the Dead." This new Liturgy was read, for the first Time, throughout the whole Kingdom, on the Feast of *St. John the Baptist*, in the Year 1559.

PARKER, as strenuous and zealous a Promoter of the Reformation, as his Predecessor * *Cranmer*, was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury* towards the End of the same Year: This was performed, says *Burnet*, according to the Ritual for Ordinations made under *Edward* the VIth. *Parker* after this consecrated fourteen Bishops: This Fact is here mentioned because it occasioned a great Dispute, renewed in our Days †, about the Validity of *English* Ordinations. *Parker's* Consecration is said to be null ‡ because the essential Form of Order was omitted, and because *Barlow*, who is said to have been his Consecrator, had not been consecrated § himself. Another Story has been published, that *Parker* was made Bishop at a Tavern called the *Nag's Head*. " At this Place, they say, the Bishops, appointed for that Ceremony, met; the Bishop of *Landaff*, not daring to perform that Function, after *Bonner's* forbidding it, the other Bishops named, (*Barlow*, named to be Bishop of *Chichester*, *Scory*, named to the See of *Hereford*, with *Coverdale*, who was Bishop of *Exeter* under *Edward* the VIth, and *Hodgkins*, Suffragan of *Bedford*) being surprized and stunned with that Prohibition, withdrew into a Room of the said Tavern. There *Scory* had them kneel, and put the Bible on their Heads or Shoulders ¶. . . . When he had pronounced these Words, ' *Receive the Power to*
" *preach*

* This Regulation was worthy to come from a Christian Princeess, such odious Names do not become truly religious Persons; yet it must be owned, they are too common, and only serve to ease for that Moment the bitter Zeal of a few Bigots, either Catholics or Protestants, who against all the Rules of Christianity hate one another heartily.

† To pay the Honour due to Christ's divine Nature and Person.

‡ Cardinal *Peale* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, between *Cranmer* and *Parker*.

§ See *Courayer's* Preface to his Dissertation on the Validity of the *English* Ordinations, wherein he says, that long before, viz. in 1606. *Mason*, Archdeacon of *Norfolk*, had wrote to maintain them, that *Champney*, another *Englishman*, answered him, and was confuted, and that he (*Courayer*) undertook to search further upon account of *Abbé Renaudot's* Memorial, published by Mr. *Gould* in 1720, on the true Belief of the Catholic Church.

¶ Dec. 17. 1559. *Parker's* Consecration was thus. First the Morning Prayers were said, then *Scory* preached a Sermon suitable to the Occasion, *Parker* was presented to *Barlow*, and having taken the Oath of Supremacy, and several Prayers prescribed in the new Ritual being said, then he received the Imposition of Hands with these Words: *Receive the Holy Ghost, and remember to raise in you the Grace which has been given you by the Imposition of Hands*. Then the Gospel was put into his Hands, with these Words: *Be mindful to teach and exhort (the People agreeably to this Book) and continually meditate on the Precepts it contains*. They all received the Communion: But the giving him the Pastoral Staff and other Ceremonies were omitted.

§ See *Courayer*, Chap. 3. of Dissertation, and in Tom. 2. the Proofs of *Barlow's* being a Bishop.

¶ See p. 21. and following of *Courayer's* Dissertation, Vol. I. how this *Nag's Head* Story is confuted.

¶ Father *Courayer's* Argument, Vol. I. p. 111. runs thus: " Imposition of Hands and Prayer, that is the calling upon the Holy Ghost, to obtain for the Bishop elect Grace to perform worthily the Functions of
" his

“ *preach the Word of God in its Purity*, they all rose up as if they had been truly ordained and consecrated Bishops.” This Account *Burnet* finds Fault with, as a Story invented forty Years after, and at a Time when probably all the *Witnesses* who had been present might be dead; and proves the Validity of *Parker's* Ordination. As to those who question *Parker's* Consecration “ because all the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury* were not present at the Consecration of their Primate, and that of the four Bishops who supply'd their Place, three had no Bishopricks, and the fourth was but a Suffragan ; ” *Burnet* endeavours to prove the Legitimacy of it, and its being canonical, by several Histories which happened in the *Arians* Time, and by other Reasons which may be seen in his *History of the Reformation of England*.

Now to go on with the Account of this great Revolution, the Bishops of *Queen Elizabeth* published a new Profession of Faith, or at least added to and altered some Points in that, which had been drawn up in *Edward's* Reign. The chief Amendments are these. 1. They leave it undecided how Christ descended into Hell. 2. To the Article concerning the Authority of the Church, they add, *that it has Power to appoint Rites and Ceremonies, and is the Judge of Controversies, yet subordinate to Scripture*. 3. ^e As to the Eucharist, they say, *that the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ is given and received in a spiritual Manner, and that Faith is the Means by which we receive it*. We shall not enter into Particulars about the Translation of the Bible, and several other circumstantial Facts of less Moment. But we cannot end this Subject without letting our Readers know, that *Charles* the Second, soon after the Restauration, ordered some Bishops and Divines to review the *English* Liturgy, and the Form of Ordination, which had been laid aside with Episcopacy by *Cromwell*. This Liturgy, with the Form of Ordination altered, were approved by the Parliament of 1662; and this is the last Change with which the Church of *England* has been reproached on that Subject. ^h

THE short Account hitherto given, would prove still more deficient, if we did not mention the *Scots* Reformation. Its Motives were the same, which other Reformers alledged; if you believe them, the Salvation of Souls is their only Concern: So the publick Welfare of Civil Society is the only Aim of those who promote Revolutions in the State. Accordingly all the Protestant Writers of those Days, all those who approved of the Reformation in *Scotland*, unanimously assure us, that the *Scots* Churchmen were guilty of as many and as great Irregularities, as those of *England*, or of any other Country in *Europe*; that those Disorders being arrived to the highest Pitch, and become unsufferable, People began to enquire into the Causes of them, and to compare the Actions of those Ecclesiasticks, with the Pattern set them by Christ and his Apostles; that from this Enquiry into their Morals, follow-

^a his Ministry, are the only essential Matter and Form of Order. (Which, *says he*, is proved by the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Rituals and Pontificals now in Being.) But these two were used in the new Form of *English* Ordination, therefore nothing essential, either in Matter or Form, was wanting in *Parker's* Ordination.” This *Courayer* endeavours to prove; and we have mentioned it, as impartial Writers, only to let the Readers see how this learned Monk defends the Form of *Parker's* Consecration, &c. as above related, Note ^b in the foregoing Page.

^c See *Burnet*, Lib. VI.

^e *Burnet*, Lib. VI. says, great Caution was used not to speak too plain on this nice Point, and *Bossett*, Lib. X. answers *Burnet's* Reasons.

^h Within a few Years Mr. *Whiston* published a strange sort of a Map, which he called, *The Rule of Christian Faith*. 'Twas a Table divided into 22 Columns, which contained as many Professions of Faith, drawn up in the three first Ages, concerning the fundamental Points of the Christian Religion: It was to disposed, that whatever concerned the same Subject, was within two parallel Lines drawn cross the Map; which, if read from Top to Bottom of each Column, you have each Creed by itself: But if read from left to right, you see the various Ways of wording the same Article of Faith. Such a Table would be very useful, to contain all the Professions of Faith made since the Reformation, that the Variations, Differences, and affected Obscurity of them, might be more plainly perceived, by all Christian Churches.

ed a more important Search into the Doctrine, which may well be said to be the Ground of Morality, and the Rule of our Conduct: That, finding here many Changes and Additions, *they conceived they had a Right to reform it*, to instruct the Faithful, to invite them to this Reformation, and thus to separate from a corrupted Church, a Body of Christians, worthy to be called the Church of Christ. Such was the Plea of the *Scots* Reformers: Such will ever be, to the End of the World, the Pretence of all Reformers. But God only, and those whom he is pleased to authorize, to direct, and to enlighten, by his own immediate Grace, can accomplish such an Undertaking, without Weakness, without human Policy, without Variations, without any of those Shifts which worldly Prudence inspires: No Wonder then if we meet with the same Blemishes in the *Scots* Reformation, as in the fore-mentioned, that of *England*, and other Countries. We need not mention here over again, that *Wicliff* and the *Lollards* had paved the Way for the *Scots* Reformers, as for those of *England*; and that their Foot-steps were still visible, when the *Lutherans* and other Protestants began their Schism. 'Tis likewise universally known that the new Opinions of the latter had reached *Scotland*, long before *Henry* the VIIIth's Death: *Patrick Hamilton*, a Gentleman of a noble Descent, had lost his Life with several others, because they would not abjure them: But neither those Executions, nor all the Endeavours of the Clergy, were able to stop the Progress of the Protestant Religion: On the contrary, the People were desirous to be instructed in a Doctrine for the Sake of which its Followers were willing to be burnt; such is the ordinary Consequence of Persecutions, which yet seldom leave Men at Liberty to try and judge: But as we are naturally inclined to favour the weakest Party, it is not to be wonder'd, that Compassion, without any further Examen, forcibly persuades us, that Truth is on the Side of those who suffer Persecution. This is one of those strong Bents of Men's Hearts, which by its Activity, has been the Occasion of believing that those who embraced the Reformation did it by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The *Scots* being in such Dispositions gave a willing Ear to the Reformers, and the new Opinions were followed with the same Rapidity, which had so lately carried away *England*, with a great Part of *France* and *Germany*. The first Demand of the Reformers was to have the Bible in the vulgar Language, and the Parliament of 1543 was forced to grant that Leave. This Desire, abstracted from its Consequences, was just and reasonable. Complying with it freed the *Scots* from a heavy Yoke of many Abuses, too favourable to the exorbitant Power of the Clergy, and no less opposite to the Laws delivered in that divine Book: But on the other Side, the giving up that Book into every one's Hands without any Restriction, exposed them to the Danger of arguing too boldly, and without End, about its Contents, and of wresting it from its natural Sense, to reconcile it to all their Whims. However it was granted to the *Scots*, as it had been to others, without any Limitation: Accordingly it produced the same Effects in *Scotland*, as in *England* and *Germany*; every particular Person took the Liberty of upholding, by its Authority, the several Opinions they had resolved to maintain, or to espouse: Every particular Person thought himself able to distinguish, by its Light, *Tares from good Corn*; and at last this private Examen and private Spirit caused the Downfal of Church Authority in *Scotland*, as every where else. Though *Patrick Hamilton*, *Seton*, a Dominican Fryar, and several others, are generally looked upon as the first Authors of the *Scots* Reformation; yet the Puritans of that Country are not willing to own any other first Reformer than *Knox*, that sworn Enemy of the *English* Liturgy, as is said before. This *John Knox* received his Call

to the Ministry, *such as it was*, in 1547, from another *Scots Predicant*¹, whose Name was *John^k Rough*. The next following *Sunday Knox* preached publicly against the Pope in the Parish Church of *St. Andrew*. His Example encouraged many other *Predicants* to inveigh against the Church^l of *Rome*. *Knox*, being protected by some *Scots Lords*, went afterwards to preach in divers Parts of the Kingdom, and celebrated the Lord's Supper, according to the Protestant Rite, at several Gentlemen's Houses. In the Year 1556, having before published his Sentiments openly at *Edinburgh*, he wrote to *Queen Mary*, Regent of *Scotland*,^m an apologetical Letter in Defence of his Opinion, but so much wanting in the Regards due to a Crown'd Head, so fluff'd with bitter Invectives against the *Roman Church*, that *Mary* called it a Libel, when she gave it to be perused by *Beton*, Bishop of *Glasgow*. Some Timeⁿ before this, the *English* of *Geneva*, who conformed^o to *Calvin's* Liturgy, had invited *Knox* to come over to be with them: As soon as he went, he was burnt in Effigy at *Edinburgh*: But the *Scots Brethren*, and amongst them several of the best Families, wrote to him, from *Sterling*, so pressing a Letter, in *March* 1556, that, having first consulted *Calvin*, the Oracle of the Reform'd, and the other *Brethren* of *Geneva*, who all unanimously declared, that resisting this Call would be a *Rebellion against God*, he could not withstand their earnest Solicitations. He set out upon this Journey in the Month of *September* following, to go back to his *Brethren* in *Scotland*; but he was stop't at *Dieppe* by two Letters^p, *no ways agreeable to the Flesh*, which he received from two *Faithful* of *Scotland*. Those Letters mentioned some Disappointments, which the Reformation had met with. The angry Apostle of the Puritans wrote to the *Brethren*, to complain of those Disappointments, and to encourage them to free themselves from Oppression: "For you must venture your Lives, *says he*, even against Kings and Emperors, to deliver the Oppressed. For this you are called *Princes of the People* . . . you receive Homage and Respect from your Brethren, only upon Account of the Duties of your Office . . . and this Duty consists in *re-vengeing and freeing your Brethren and Subjects from Violence and Oppression*." This Letter made a deep Impression on the Minds of the Nobility and Commonalty, who were, as is said before, very much inclined to the Reformation. The Congregation, (for that was the Name given then to these new^q Converts) entered into an Association^r to defend themselves, and promised, *in the Presence of the Divine Majesty*, that they would maintain, even with the Loss of their Lives, the Reformation and its Ministers, *against Satan and every tyrannick Power which should oppose it*. This Declaration, and the extraordinary Increase of the Protestant Party intimidated the Queen Regent; she slackened the Prosecutions against them: Policy and a superior Force overcame her Zeal for the Catholics; and as the Protestants were of some Service to her, the same political Views made her promise she would give them no Disturbance about Religion: But the Deference she paid to the Remonstrances of her

¹ We mean no Injury or Contempt by this Word; 'tis only used to denote those who preach without having received Ordination, as it is the Custom among the Puritans.

^k *Burnet, Lib. 3.* says, he was burnt in *England* under *Queen Mary*.

^l The Catholic Church, is here called the Church of *Rome*, as Protestants call it.

^m *Knox* reprinted it with explanatory Additions, 1558.

ⁿ In *July* 1555.

^o *Who had separated themselves (says Neal) from the superstitious and contentious Assembly at Francfort,* which conformed to *Edward's* Liturgy.

^p This Account is taken out of *Knox's* Letter.

^q See *Hist. of Ref.* abovecited.

^r This Association was made in *December* 1557, and was signed by several *Scots Lords*. *Knox's* Letter is dated from *Dieppe* *October* 27. 1557. See the above-mentioned History.

Brother, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Credit of the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's* and other Catholick Bishops of *Scotland*, prevailed upon her to 'break her Promise, or at least not to oppose the pretended Steadiness of the Clergy, or rather that invincible Obstinacy of theirs, which has so often, and still does daily bring the Church 'into the utmost Danger. But we must not charge the Church with this Excess, 'tis not her Spirit, but that of Churchmen, to make Religion consist in *destroying all*, without having any Regard to Circumstances, or to the Inclinations of the People. This same Spirit too often occasions the Breach of publick Faith, which Christ himself commands us to keep even to Infidels. The Catholicks of *Scotland* were inspir'd with that Spirit, they took no Warning from the Revolutions of which other Countries furnished so many sad Examples; they unmercifully burnt in *St. Andrew's* an old Priest named " *Walter Mill*, who had embraced the Reformation: And this Execution exasperated to the highest Pitch the *Scots* Protestants.

THESE last, far from being terrify'd, preached publicly in the Churches of *St. Johnstown*, and when the Queen ordered my Lord *Ruthwen*, who was Mayor of that Town, to force those Rebels to return to their Duty, this Nobleman answered, *that he could bring their Bodies to Subjection, or even destroy them, as her Majesty pleased, but that he had no Power over Consciences*. She then replied, both he and they should repent it. Several other Towns declared in Favour of the Reformation; their Ministers were cited to appear at *Sterling*; they accordingly began their Journey thither, but were so well attended, that she thought fit to countermand them, and to assure them, that this Citation should not be prosecuted: And yet 'tis said they were proclaimed Traitors for not complying with the Summons. This Treachery, in which the Character of the *Guises* appears so plain, increased the Protestant Party, which was also joined by some who were dissatisfy'd. At *St. Johnstown* the People broke the Images to pieces, endeavoured to stone to Death a Priest who was saying Mass, under Pretence, " *that God having forbid Idolatry, they could not bear to see it publicly practised, in their own Presence, in spite of that Command*; got in by Force, and plundered the Convents; demolished that of the Carthusians; and Rebellion spread itself so far, that in a short Time they were in a Condition to bring a considerable Army into the Field. The Queen proposed a general Pardon, and consented to leave to the Parliament the Judgment of all Disputes concerning Religion: But, to be short, we are told, that these Promises also were broke, and the Queen, being upbraided with it, answered, *that Princes are not obliged to perform what they promise to Hereticks*: " *My Conscience, says she, requires me to extirpate all Sectaries*." After this the *Scots* would not trust her any more. All engaged in the Party of the Reformers, and began in earnest both to abolish the ancient Customs which the Protestants esteem to be Abuses, and to approve of and confirm the Alterations which were made in the Doctrine: The Queen, in Consequence of this Change of Religion, lost all her Authority, and the *Scots* Nobility declared, she had forfeited her Right of governing

^c The *Scots Puritans* say, the Queen deceived them for a considerable Time by false Promises, and Dissimulation, till she had agreed with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; then she openly declared against them, and told them, *Though your Ministers should preach as much Truth as St. Paul, they shall be all of them banished out of the Kingdom*.

^d One Example will prove the Truth of this Observation: In 1561, the *French* petitioned *Pius* the IV. by their Ambassadors, for the Communion under both Kinds; this Favour was denied; and Cardinal *Saint Ange* voting against it said, *Sooner than give such Poison to the French, let them all die*. This happened at a Time when the Wounds, caused by the Schism of one Party, and the inflexible Obstinacy of the other, were still bleeding.

^e 'Tis related, that no body in that Town being willing to sell a Rope to tie *Mill* to the Stake, the Archbishop charitably offered his Bed-ropes for that Purpose.

^f See *History*, above-cited, *Lib. 2.*

the Kingdom. She died some Time after, and shew'd some Marks of Sorrow for what she had done, at least if we credit Protestant Writers, who even add * “ that “ her Regency was accompanied with Wisdom, Justice and Meekness, as long as she “ followed the Motions of her own Heart.” Upon her Death the Parliament met, and made four Acts in Favour of the Reformation. Their Purport was, the Down-fal of the Pope’s Authority, the Destruction of Superstition, inflicting Penalties on those who said or heard Mass, lastly, to ratify and accept a Profession of Faith drawn up by *Knox* upon the Model of that which *Calvin* had published.

THE foregoing Account of this Change of Religion shews plainly, that if the Catholick Churchmen and the Court Party were guilty of want of Toleration and Honesty, the *Scots* Protestants and their Teachers were equally guilty of taking violent Measures^z, of furious Passion, of Principles which were seditious, entirely opposite to the Gospel, which they pretend to follow exactly and without the least Alteration; and far different from the Conduct of that *Apostolical Church* which they endeavoured to re-establish in their own Country. Several Passages of this History shew the true Character of *Knox*, their chief *Predicant*. The Spirit of the whole Party may fully appear by the following Facts. In 1559, the *Congregation in a Motion of a Saint-like Anger* against the *Roman* Clergy (which last, to be sure, imitated the Pattern set them by Christ, when to the best of their Power they piled up the Fire and blew the Coles which were to burn the *Scots* Protestants) directed a Letter to the said Clergy, with this Inscription: *To the Generation of Anti-Christ, to the pestilentious Prelates, and to all their Adherents, &c.* The same Year, the same *Congregation of Jesus Christ*^z, in an Address presented to the *Scots* Nobility, having first insisted on the Necessity of a publick Conference, to decide whether the therein mentioned Abominations, which the pestilentious Papists call Religion, are really the true Religion of Jesus Christ, proceed further, and instruct the said Nobility in their Duty, which, according to the Address, consists in restraining^b and curbing the Madness and

* See *Burnet*, Lib. 6.

^z In 1560, the 21st Article is remarkable by the many Words used, to explain how the Faithful spiritually eat the Body of Jesus Christ. The Original runs thus: “ Notwithstanding the far Distance of Place, which “ is betwixt his Body now glorified in Heaven, and us now mortal on this Earth; yet we most assuredly “ believe, that the Bread that we break, is the Communion of Christ’s Body, and the Cup which we bless “ is the Communion of his Blood: So that we confess, and undoubtedly believe, that the Faithful, in the “ right Use of the Lord’s Table, so do eat the Body and drink the Blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remains in them, and they in him. Yea that they are so made Flesh of his Flesh and Bones of his Bones, “ that as the eternal God-head has given to the Flesh of Christ Jesus . . . Life and Immortality; so “ does Christ Jesus . . . give to us the same Prerogatives, &c.” *Calvin’s* Profession says, that “ tho’ “ Jesus Christ be in Heaven . . . yet we believe, that by the secret and incomprehensible Virtue of his “ Spirit, he nourishes and enlivens us with the Substance of his Body and Blood, &c.” That of the low Countries says, that “ we receive by Faith the true Body and the true Blood of Christ our Saviour into “ our Souls for our spiritual Life . . . yet the manner in which we eat it . . . is not the Mouth, “ but the Spirit, by Faith.” See the Volume of this Work which mentions the *Greeks* and Protestants, p. 382. By these various Forms it is evident, that the Reformers of *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Low Countries*, are as obscure in their Expressions, as the Catholicks and Lutherans; after so many fruitless Endeavours, why might they not bear with one another? But the Protestants will not suffer a Priest to adore Jesus Christ under the Appearances of Bread and Wine, which are no more such, nor the Priest bear with a Protestant, who says, the Eucharist consists in eating Christ spiritually: And so both neglect and lose the true Spirit of Communion, which is Charity.

* The Catholicks of *France* reproach the Protestants of the same Country with the like Excesses and outrageous Behaviour, as in the Murder of the Duke of *Guise*, seditious Sermons, Libels and Papers posted up in publick Places against the *Roman* Church, &c. The Protestants either deny the Facts, or lay them at the Doors of particular Persons not owned nor countenanced by the rest; others say, Policy had the greatest Share in those Enormities, and that Religion was only the Pretence: Certainly the Reproaches on both Sides ought to be diminished; but what has been done by publick Assemblies, or by People authorized by the whole Party, cannot meet with so favourable an Interpretation; and of this we shall produce more Examples in the following Notes.

^z This Address to the Nobility was so subscribed.

^b See the same Principle in the above-cited *History*, &c. *Knox* uses Expressions much stronger, in the same Address, concerning *Mary* Queen of *England*.

Fury of the Wicked, tho' Kings and Emperors. Such are the seditious Principles which have inspired Subjects with such unheard of Boldness as to depose ^c and murder their King: But the Catholics were not deficient in the same rebellious Spirit, for not to run back to those Times when Emperors were deposed, and their Subjects absolved from their Oaths of Fidelity to them, have we not had amongst us zealous Preachers in Favour of the League ^d, have we not seen Apologies ^e publicly printed in Defence of the Murderers of their Kings.

THE Reformation of *Scotland* must be fixed to the Year 1560, because, as we observed before, the Parliament approved in that Year *Knox's* Profession of Faith. This *Scots* Apostle, with the Doctrine and Principles of *Calvin*, brought likewise into his own Country the Manners and Discipline of *Geneva*; besides ordinary Ministers, they chose a *Superintendent*, as in the *Lutheran* Churches, at whose Reception *Knox* preached and said Prayers: They also elected Elders and Deacons. The Articles of ecclesiastical Policy, as contrived by the said *Knox*, were proposed to the Assembly which met in *January* 1561. The Imposition of Hands was reserved to be performed by the Ministers, but not as being absolutely necessary ^f. But these Articles were not accepted, and the new Discipline was established in *Scotland*, by the sole Power of their Ministers. In 1572, the Discipline was set upon a more fixed Foundation, but the Bishops had more Authority given them than the *Puritans* liked. Those Bishops, to whose Authority they were not used, did not last long, they were only tolerated three or four Years; and the *Congregation* never would positively approve that Discipline. Father *Courayer* ^g says, "it plainly appears by the Book of Discipline presented to the Parliament of *Scotland* in 1578, that the *Scots*, though they kept up the Name of Bishops, were nevertheless true Presbyterians It was ordered, that Bishops should be subject to the Presbytery, and should exercise no other Functions but those which the Church should require of them." This Discipline was fully settled at *Edinburgh* in 1581, when the first ^h *Presbytery* met there under the Protection of the Law. "This Establishment occasioned the further spreading of the Opinion which looked on the Imposition of Hands to be useless towards being admitted to the Ministry *Robert Bruce*, who had preached at *Edinburgh* several Years, being chosen a Minister of that Town in 1598, and being

^c *John Knox* at an Audience he had of *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*, in order to maintain this Principle, that Subjects may draw their Swords against their Princes, chiefly in Defence of their Religion, and to obtain the free Exercise of it, made Use of this sophistical Comparison: "Do you believe, said the Queen to him, that Subjects, having the Power in their Hands, may lawfully resist their Princes? Yes, Madam, he reply'd, if Princes exceed the Bounds of their Power, and command what ought not to obey'd, 'tis lawful to resist them. Are Princes to be honoured and obeyed farther than God requires those Duties to be paid to Father and Mother? Suppose a Father runs mad, and intends to kill his Children; they unite in their own Defence, they lay hold of their Father, disarm him, tie him, and keep him in Prison, till his Madness is over; do you believe, Madam, that those Children are criminal, or God offended by their Action? Even so when Princes put to Death their Subjects, who are Children of God, their blind Zeal is a Madness, during which, the Sword is to be taken from them, their Hands tied, and they themselves be confined, till they come to their Senses. This is true Obedience, which agrees with the Word of God." Such were the Gospel Rules preached by the Apostle of the Puritans, which were only adapted to the Subversion of all States and Governments. See the above-cited *Hist. of Ref. of Scot. Lib. 4.* To what has been before alledged, to prove the *French* Protestants guilty of the same Crimes, add the 47 Art. of the Synod of *Lyon*, in 1563, and the seditious Libels and Sermons of the *French* Refugees, these fifty Years last past.

^d Sermons of *Boucher* and others.

^e *Apol. pro Joan. Castell.* in 8vo.

^f *Whiston* has put out a Pamphlet, in which he maintains, that all those who are solemnly named or employed in the Ministry, though in an irregular Manner, are nevertheless true Pastors, and may exercise all the Functions of that Office: Without which, he pretends, there would be no true Clergy, nor true Christians in the World. Could this be proved, it would end many Disputes about Mission and Validity of Orders.

^g *Dissert. valid. Ordin. Tom. 1. p. 6.*

^h *Courayer* seems by this Word to mean Presbyterian *Consistories*, or those Meetings in which they frame their ecclesiastical Ordinances.

“ desired to receive the Imposition of Hands, refused it, because (said he) the Ap-
 “ probation of the Assembly supply’d the Place of Ordination : Yet he was prevailed
 “ upon to receive it, by the pressing Instances of many, still declaring that
 “ he look’d upon this Imposition of Hands only as a Commission to
 “ take Care of a particular Flock. *James* the First, who united in his Person the
 “ Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, undertook to restore Episcopacy in *Scot-*
 “ *land* He sent for three Ministers into *England*, who received Episcopal
 “ Consecration in the Year 1610, at the Hands of the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*,
 “ *Rochester*, and *Worcester* : And these three consecrated afterwards other Bishops in
 “ *Scotland* During the Rebellion which brought *Charles* the First to the
 “ Scaffold, Episcopacy was abolished again in the Assemblies of *Glasgow* and of *Edin-*
 “ *burgh*, to settle Presbytery upon its Ruins : And so it remained till King *Charles*
 “ the Second’s Restauration, who thought it his Duty to give back to the Bishops
 “ their Authority, and to get them consecrated. For this End in 1664 he sent
 “ for four Presbyterian Ministers up to *London*, who were consecrated
 “ Bishops by the Bishop of *Winchester*, assisted by two others The Re-
 “ volution in the State, which happened in 1688, caused a Change in the Govern-
 “ ment of that Church likewise. The *Scots* Bishops were very affectionate to King
 “ *James* the Second ; upon the first Notice they received of the Prince of *Orange*’s
 “ Undertaking against his Father-in-Law they wrote to the King to assure him of
 “ their Fidelity. This Letter proved fatal to Episcopacy
 “ The Presbyterians took the Advantage of King *William*’s Inclination to their
 “ Party They ordered Matters so that the States of *Scotland* in 1689
 “ solemnly petitioned for the Abolition of Episcopacy ; which they at last obtained,
 “ in 1695.

THIS is the true Account of the two Reformations of *Great Britain* : The one
 called *Episcopal*, predominant in *England*; the other *Presbyterian*, bearing the Sway
 in *Scotland*, and very powerful even amongst the *English*. We have set before our
 Readers the Reasons and chief Motives of the Conduct of the Reformers, and with-
 out taking upon us either to approve or condemn their Schism, we have not been
 ashamed to own, that the Disorders of the Religious and of the Clergy, the false and
 empty Devotions they introduced for their own temporal Interest, the exorbitant
 Power they assumed to themselves over the Consciences of the Faithful, furnished a
 specious Pretence for a Separation, into which the People, tired with Vexations,
 were easily drawn, and strengthened the Schism. Agreeable to these Notions we have
 freely and boldly judged the Actions of both Catholics and Protestants, as Occasion
 required; and if we have sometimes sharply reflected on the Conduct of each Party,
 we flatter ourselves ’twas deservedly, when human Passions, the Interest of particular
 Persons, Prejudices of Education, strengthened by inveterate Habits, and the poli-
 tical Views of some Princes, used Religion only as a Cloak to their evil Designs,
 and made Sport with Truth. The Expression is not too strong; Truth has been
 sported with on both Sides, and no Wonder. The Reform bears no such Marks of a
 Divine Work, as the Establishment of Christianity, or Foundation of Christ’s Church.
 No Reformer can prove that he received his Mission or Authority to reform from
 God; no Apparition of Angels, no Miracles have been the Fore-runners of the Re-
 formers; their Designs in Discipline have been uncertain, weak, subject to Variations,
 and generally followed too slavishly the Will of Princes. Their Doctrine has not been

more steady, one Decision has often been contradictory to another. From all this we can only conclude, that those Reformations were only the Worksⁱ of Men, in which all Passions display'd themselves openly, as evidently appears from the History of the reforming Age. As to the Catholick Church, which must now come under Consideration, its publick Worship and Doctrine is every where, and at all Times, the same; the People are tractable, and keep within Bounds; the exterior Order and Discipline commands Fear and Veneration, which maintains the *lawful Authority* of the Church, and prevents every Upstart from framing to himself a Religion to *his own Fancy*, or venting his new-fangled Notions publicly, to some hundreds of Followers, as the Case has often been, in reformed Countries, in spite of all their Consistories, or Convocations.

MOREOVER the Submission and Docility required by the Catholick Church are no Hindrance to the Practice of moral Duties, or to the most exact Observance of Gospel Precepts. What else is necessary, to become a Christian? Nothing more, will a moderate Protestant say, till the Ignorance of the Faithful favoured too much the Excesses of those who governed the Church. This Ignorance increased by degrees, the Abuses went Hand in Hand with it; and when both were become *almost universal*, the Authority of the Church was not distinguished as it ought, from the unjust Power of the prevailing Party in the Church, which countenanced those Abuses; as in a civil Society, *Usurpation supports itself by Laws* obtained by Force. But may we not justly reply to this, that this Usurpation is the Beginning of *this Work of Men*? 'Tis freely owned, that the Excesses of those who sat at the Helm of the Christian Church were not supported by Revelation, nor by the Word of God, nor by Apostolical Tradition; they could not be justify'd, unless by the false and deceitful Tradition of latter Ages, which is certainly the Work of Men^k. But what have particular private Men to do with Abuses, which do not hinder them from serving God in the Purity of their Hearts, according to the Doctrine of Christ? What Authority *has put into their Hands the Ax to cut down the Tree*? What Right have they to raise Disturbances, under Pretence that *Usurpation has made Laws in its*

ⁱ Yet, as such, they have been useful; the Clergy is more prudent; Abuses have been left off; Superstition is not so common, and the Faithful not so apt to follow blindly blind Guides: Learning has been improved in both Communions; and the Church of *England's* Learning and Toleration have been commendable.

^k We must here shew the Beginning of this false Tradition, and trace out the Time when primitive Doctrine was *wrested* to prove the *indispensible Necessity* of burning Men: Remonstrances, Censures, Excommunications, were Apostolical, as to Spirituals, being natural Appendices to Truth. The Clergy, some Ages after, made use of their Credit to get *Hereticks* banished, deprived of their Goods, and of the Rights of Citizens: This might be lawful for Emperors, not to shew Favour to those of a different Religion; but to take away their Property, was a beginning of Persecution: Tradition being once corrupted, and employed only for the Honour and Profit of Churchmen, then *Hereticks* were punished with Death; which yet was not inflicted, unless they publicly *taught their Errors* against the Law. Some Ages after, in order to unite the Interest of Truth with this *false* Tradition, which was to be upheld and justified, *Hereticks* were condemned to the Flames: But Faith was blended with useless Observances, and what attacked either was deemed Herefy. No Error was thought *little*, even they who favoured the *least Error* found no Mercy. All underwent the same Punishment; and the same Fire, which was a lively Representation of God's avenging Justice against Sinners, and of eternal Fire prepared in Hell for the Wicked, became also an Emblem of the little Charity and Mercy of Churchmen; who by the Laws of the Church ought not to spill Blood, nor to give their Vote for it. They went further, they judged and condemned not only the Errors which being made publick might give Scandal to weak Souls, Severity in that Case might have been just: But Errors were industriously fought for, where less expected, even in single Letters and Comma's. Lastly, to get an absolute Dominion over Consciences, by which, as they pretend, nothing was aimed at but *the Love and Glory of God*, poor Christians were pressed on all Sides to declare their Sentiments; which once gained, *to save their Souls*, they had no Chance or Choice left them, but *Abjuration or Burning*. Now, to conclude, we justly abominate the barbarous Custom of some Heathen Nations, who sacrifice Men to their Gods: Is not burning of Hereticks as much to be abhor'd? Is not the burning of Men the same as sacrificing them to God?

own Favour, since they may keep a *respectuous Silence*, and live unmolested, without taking any Share in the Crimes of those who govern? If Divines dispute about such Points of Doctrine which human Reason cannot fathom, if they stigmatise one the other, as Idolaters, Prophane, or Libertines, let them dispute and scold on; what need we be frightened at the Excesses of some, or Consequences pretended to be drawn by others? Christ is God, we adore him, believe his Doctrine, and endeavour to imitate his Virtue and Patience. Religious Disputes are but the Works of Men, *who sport themselves at the Expence of Truth, either as misled, or as Deceivers*: The People attentively look on the Players, but cannot penetrate the Nicety of the Game: The Deceivers will meet with their deserved Doom: Those who are misled may be excused upon Account of their Sincerity; but even that often helps to deceive others.



DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

C U S T O M S

AND

CEREMONIES

OF THE

CHURCH of *ENGLAND*.

THE

DISSERTATION

OF

CRIMINALS

IN

DISSERTATION

Concerning the Customs and Ceremonies of the Church of ENGLAND.

THE foregoing Dissertation contained the Establishment of the *English* Liturgy under *Edward* the VIth, and *Queen Elizabeth*. *James* the First made some slight ^a Alterations in it. Some Troubles and Disputes were occasioned by it under *Cromwell*, when the Power of the Puritans almost abolished it: But in 1660 *Charles* the Second restored it, and ordered that it should be review'd and corrected; which being done, the King and Parliament published a Decree to have the publick Service conformable to it throughout the Kingdom ^b, that it might be the same in every Church. The Preface of that Liturgy then printed ^c gives an Account of the Re-establishment of it, and of the Alterations made in it ^d. Father *Le Brun* cites a Passage of the Dedictory Epistle to a *Latin* Translation of this Liturgy of *Charles* the Second, in which it is called *præstantissima*, most excellent, and the Reason given there for this Encomium is, *that every Christian ought to be content with it, whatever Opinion he may hold concerning the Eucharist*.

THREE Prefaces are set before this Liturgy, which we shall follow in the Description of the Customs and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; one has been cited before; the other two explain the Publick Service and the Ceremonies either retained or left out. One of them insinuates, that the religious Office had been corrupted, *by planting in uncertain Stories, Legends, Responses, Verses, vain Repetitions, &c.* To which it is added, that before the *English* Reformation, divine Service being performed in a Language not understood by the common People, 'twas an empty Sound which only affected the Ear, without reaching to the Heart; that several Books of

^a See the Proclamation at the Beginning of the *French* Edition of 1616. Those Alterations were made after the Conferences at *Hampton Court* in 1603, in order to reconcile the Disputes about it. The same Year a Pamphlet was published, intitled, *The most humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England for the Reformation of some Ceremonies, and some Abuses, &c.* The Complaints ran upon four Points; the Form of the Service, the Ministers of the Church, the Life led by them, and Discipline. As the Petition contained several Articles which might draw on bad Consequences, the King endeavoured by a Proclamation to calm the Minds of his Subjects; he promised a Conference, which was accordingly held at *Hampton Court*, but without Success.

^b In August 1662.

^c See the Preface to the Liturgy printed in *French* in 1663. This Translation was made by *Duret*: So 'tis not the old *French* one of the foregoing Reigns; yet the *French* is not very elegant: However this is the Version which has ever been printed since 1663.

^d Those Alterations, according to Father *Le Brun*, *Tom. 4. of his Liturgies* are, 1. In the Litany we find this Petition: *Deliver us, O Lord, from Seditions, secret Conspiracies, all false Doctrine, and Schism.* The Word *Schism* was then added, on which Father *Le Brun* takes Notice, that *Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth*, were so plainly Authors of Schism, that they certainly did not think it an Evil from which we should desire to be delivered; so this Word alluded only to the Disorders committed by the Puritans in the preceding Reign. 2. "The leaving out (says *Le Brun*) Prayers for the Dead, had so often been found Fault with, that it was not thought fit to omit it quite; but it is so worded, that it is not easy to know whether it is a Prayer or no: At the End of the Prayer for all the Church Militant upon Earth, in the Edition of 1663, and those which followed, are these Words (We bless also your holy Name for all your Servants who are departed in your Faith and Fear, beseeching you to grant us Grace so well to follow their Example, &c." 3. In the Office for the Communion, *Edward's Rubrick*, to give a Reason for kneeling, was put in again. *Elizabeth, who,* says *Le Brun*, would leave that Point undecided, had left it out, as inclining too much to *Zuinglian*ism, and as being too odious to *Catholicks*.

^e Especially *Catholicks*, in *eo ipsi Pontificii nil desiderare possunt, in eo nihil culpæ Reformati cujuscunque Confessionis, adeo est a partium studio aliena*, *Le Brun* justly censures and ridicules this Way of reconciling Differences, and says, that neither *Catholicks* approve it, nor even some of the *High-Church* are pleased with it.

^f They are the very Words of the Preface.

Scripture were began to be read, without going through, because numberless unprofitable Additions interrupted the Reading; that as to the Psalms divided by the ancient Fathers into seven *Nocturns* and other Hours for each Day in the Week, some were too often repeated and others omitted; and that the Rules ^e prescribed for some Ages for the *Variations of Offices* occasioned much Loss of Time in turning over the Leaves; so that Part of the Time appointed for reciting the Office was spent in finding out what was to be read. In the new Liturgy, say they, besides leaving out those forementioned useless Things, and the whole being easily understood by all the Faithful, the entire divine Service is contained in one Book, the Rules or Rubricks are plainer and more convenient to keep up the Order of Reading more easily, and more agreeably to the Majesty of divine Worship. At the Beginning a Calendar is placed, to shew that Order, in which the whole Series of Lessons for all *Sundays*, Holidays and Anniversaries, &c. may be seen at once.

IN the other Preface mention is made of the due Choice of Ceremonies. Some which were established with a good Intention are by Length of Time become trifling and superstitious; others were introduced into the Church by a mistaken Zeal, and an indiscreet Devotion: The easy Compliance of Christians with these latter has increased the Abuses: As they are detrimental to Religion, and serve only to blind Christians, there is no need of a long Deliberation, say the Authors of that Preface, they deserve to be entirely rejected: As for the first Sort, they may be retained, when purged of all Superstition, in which Case they are useful, both for the decent Order and Majesty of divine Worship, and to help and increase the Devotion of the Faithful. Religion indeed does not essentially require such or such Ceremonies, which, considered in themselves, are of no great Importance: But ^h *the wilful and contemptuous Transgression and breaking of a common Order and Discipline is no small Offence before God*: And as no private Man has sufficient Power to establish this Order and Discipline, neither does it belong to him to alter or abolish them, *unless a lawful Call from God should give him* ⁱ *that Authority*. Now, say the Authors of that Preface, all the Ceremonies kept up in the *English Church* are instructive, and easily understood. The Christian Religion is not a Law of Ceremonies, like that published by *Moses*, and therefore ought not to be kept in Obscurity under the Vail of numberless figurative and mysterious Ceremonies, under which Christians now groan, as under a heavy Yoke, an insufferable Burthen. The Gospel is spiritual, and wants no outward *ceremonial Worship* as being essential, only in order to make some Impression on the Minds of the common People, by some publick and exterior Customs, which are but a necessary Consequence of the good Order and Decency kept in Christian Churches: But these are not to be put in Comparison with Religion itself, or be thought of an equal Value, or any ways so blended with it, as to shew no Distinction between both. This prevents, for the future, all the Abuses heretofore committed in so many Ceremonies, established and kept up by Superstition, Avarice, or a mistaken Devotion. This is said in Defence of the *Ceremonial Worship of the English Liturgy*, without any Intention to condemn those Nations who have not thought fit to embrace it; each national Church may use in their divine Service those Ceremonies

^e The Words of the Preface are, *the Number and Hardness of the Rules, called the PYE, and the manifold Changings of the Service, &c.* This Word *Pye* signifies the set Order of Lessons and Prayers used in the Church, from the *Greek Word Pinax*, a Table, whence by Abbreviation is derived the barbarous Word *Pica*: the first Letter of each Order of Prayer was called, *Littera Picata*.

^h Those are the very Words of the Preface.

ⁱ A remarkable Clause or Exception!

which appear most necessary and useful to Religion, still avoiding all Abuses and Superstitions. So far is we think a faithful Abstract of the said Preface.

WE must take some further Notice of this Uniformity, which the Church of *England* has so earnestly endeavoured to compass ever since its Separation from *Rome*. This could not be attained to, without uniting the People in an exterior Form of Worship, as well as in the inward Belief: So a common Liturgy for the whole Kingdom was requisite. It is very proper, we are told, the same Order and Discipline should be observed in a Religion, which owns *one Lord, one Faith, &c.* Moreover by the Form that is kept in the outward Worship of God, Men commonly judge of Religion^k. They Fancy that different Customs and Ceremonies are a certain Proof of a Difference in Doctrine; we find it by Experience; the Generality of Protestants will not be convinced that a Presbyterian Parson in a Cloak, and a Minister of the Church of *England* in his Gown and Surplice, can both preach the same Doctrine; and People of a certain Turn of Thought imagine themselves to be much better Christians, if they inviolably stick to one exterior Form of Worship, sooner than conform to another. But if a small Difference in outward Rites is apt to cause such Prejudices, and breed such Aversion, to what is only the Shadow of Religion, as if it attacked its essential Parts; can it be thought wonderful, there should be so great a Distance between Catholics and Protestants, since, except a few, yet fundamental, Articles of Christianity, they differ in most doctrinal Points, and look on one another as so many Anti-Christians: And the Names of Papists and Huguenots^l are reckoned as injurious as those of Atheists and Pagans. We must drop this odious and so often mentioned Subject, yet, we say it with Grief, of so desperate a Nature, that all Remedies prove ineffectual: All the strongest Reasons are lost upon the different Parties divided about the various Systems of Religion: And it so seldom happens that any Impression can be made on the Hearts of those who have been born, or brought up, in such or such Religion, that 'tis, if not better, at least more likely to please both Sides, if we only endeavour to amuse and divert them by an Account of Customs and Ceremonies, which is the Aim of this Work.

Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Church of ENGLAND.

WE should begin with the Dedication of Churches, where the Faithful meet to offer up their Prayers to God; but the whole of that Function is very plain. 'Tis very convenient, as we are told, ^m to consecrate those publick Buildings to God, and by that Means to free them, by religious Ceremonies, from sacrilegious Usurpations. But what is here called Ceremonies is nothing like what is done by *Roman* Catholics on the like Occasions. The Dedication of *English* Churches is only a bare Offering of them to God by Prayer, accompanied with an Exhortation or a Sermon. Such Consecrations seem necessary, to separate what is for holy Uses from those Things which are to serve for common or profane Uses; and the primitive Church has accordingly employ'd them for that End. Christians were then convinced, that exterior Solemnity raises and seeds in the Heart of Man the Love and Reverence due to the

^k Words of the above-mentioned Preface.

^l Reproachful Names used by Catholics and Protestants.

^m See the *Rationale or practical*, &c. by Sparrow, Lond. 1722.

House of the Lord: Nothing was omitted that could distinguish to the best Advantage those sacred Buildings; and the Faithful were no sooner freed from the *Pagan Yoke*, but all Hearts and Hands were employ'd in repairing, with Splendor, the Churches ruined or profaned during the Persecutions. The *English* Bishop, here cited, might have added to this Account, that the Christians went on so heartily with that Work, that for several subsequent Ages, Churches, Chapels, and other Places for Prayer, were more common than ^a good Christians. The reformed Churches of *England* have but two Parts, the Nave and the Presbytery^o, whereas those of the *Grecians* or *Catholicks* have three, the Nave, the Choir, and the Presbytery: For so we call, with the *English*, that Part which is between the Nave and the Altar. The same Author ^p tells us, that by the Word Nave, which is derived from the *Latin*, *Navis*, we are to remember, that we are in this World, as upon a stormy Sea, always exposed to be tossed and over-whelmed by the Fury of our Passions: This Part is also compared to the visible Heaven with which we are surrounded, and to many other Things, wittily found out by After-thoughts. We may also find some Likeness between the Nave of the Church, and the Ark, either of *Noah*, or of the Covenant, and suppose them both to be a Type of the Salvation of Mankind.

WHAT is called *Presbytery* being that Part of the Church allotted to Priests and other Churchmen; some Mysticks have thought fit to consider it as a Figure of the invisible Heaven, and the Clergy as that of the Angels giving Glory to God with Hymns and Canticles. We need not say any thing more on this Subject, nor concerning the Communion Tables, which the *English* still call Altars: Only we must take Notice, that Queen *Elizabeth* ordered they should be placed again where the Altars were before.

THE Transition is easy from Churches to Churchmen. Two Archbishops are at the Head of the *English* Hierarchy, those of *Canterbury* and of *York*, both stile themselves *Primates*. And to reconcile the Difference, we are told, it was decided, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should be called *Primate of all England*, and the Archbishop of *York* only *Primate of England*. We must repeat here that the Oath of Supremacy is taken to the King as Head of the Church, and that as such on the Day of his Coronation he puts on a Surplice, a Stole, and a Dalmatick ^q. When a Bishoprick becomes vacant, the Canons of the Cathedral give Notice of it to the King, and desire his Leave to chuse another. His Majesty at the same Time that he sends the *Congé d'élire* lets them know whom he will have them elect; and then the Dean and Chapter choose the Person so named: The Bishop so chosen is consecrated, installed, renders Homage to the King, takes the Oath, and pays the First-Fruits. The other Prerogatives which the King enjoys, as Head of the Church, are, to make Ordinances about Ceremonies and exterior Rites^r, with the Advice of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or of the Metropolitan; to call or prorogue ^r the Convocation;

^a That is, those who follow only the Rules and Precepts of the Gospel.

^p Or the *Chancel*.

^q Bishop *Sparrow* in his *Rationale*, &c.

^r The other Ceremonies of the Coronation are, 1. The blunt Sword, an Emblem of *Mercy*. 2. A Cruet of Oil to anoint the new King. 3. *St. Edward's Staff* carried by one of the Peers. 4. His Crown-born by the high Seneschal. 5. The Paten and Chalice for the Communion of the King, and the Bible carried by the Bishops. 6. Prayers for the King and the Offerings he makes. 7. The *Regalia*, or Marks of his Dignity which are placed upon the Altar before which he kneels to pray. 8. The King's Sword offered at the Altar and redeemed, &c.

^s *Princeps novas leges condere potest circa ceremonias & ritus, cum consilio, in ea parte, vel Commissariis in causis Ecclesiasticis, vel Metropolitanis.* &c.

^t *Synodus provincialis, vel nationalis convocari non debet absque principis rescripto ad Metropolitanos directo.*

and to enact the Decrees of Synods into Laws †, &c. But all this still leaves him in the State and Condition of a *Lay Head*, and it would be wrong to call him on these Accounts *the first Bishop* or Pope of the Church of England, as some Catholicks have done. The Profession of Faith says, “ that the supreme governing all the States of “ the Kingdom, whether Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, in all Causes whatever belongs “ to him yet so that he is not invested with a Power to preach the Word “ of God, or administer the Sacraments.” But this *Lay Head* has been accused of pretending to decide “ about dogmatical Points, of changing, amending, and settling the Doctrine according to his own Fancy; which certainly belongs only to the Pope or the Church. We have already mentioned this in the foregoing Dissertation, and as it is a controverted Article, we must refer our Readers to the Authors of both Parties.

THE Bishop is superior to a Priest, and a Priest above a Deacon. The *English Rubrick* informs us, that the essential Office of a Deacon is to see that the Wants of the Poor be supplied, to help the Priest (or Minister) at the Communion Service, to bless those who present themselves to be married, to baptise, to bury the Dead, to preach, and to read to the People the Holy Scripture, or the Homilies. Their Ordination consists first in a Sermon or Exhortation preached to them, which being ended, the Archdeacon, or whoever officiates in his Stead, presents them to the Bishop, who enquires of the said Archdeacon, whether he has examined them and found them deserving; then directs his Speech to the Faithful present, both to know if any Impediment can be objected to the Election, and to recommend the Candidates to the Prayers of the Congregation. After some Prayers and Litanies, the third Chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to *Timothy*, from Verse 8 to the End of that Chapter, is read to the Deacons, or Chapter vi. of the *Acts of the Apostles*, from Ver. 2. to the 8. Then they take the Oath of Supremacy, and amongst several Questions put to them, too many to be here mentioned, the Bishop asks them, whether they have in them *an interior Call* * from the Holy Ghost to take upon them the Office of a Deacon. The Answer to this Question, is always readily made in the affirmative, and there is no Example of a Candidate's ever saying *No*, because they come there to be ordained, and the Holy Ghost is always supposed to favour their Views and Intentions. Then the Bishop puts the New Testament into their Hands, and gives them Authority to read and preach the Word of God to the Faithful. He receives the Communion himself, and gives it to all whom he has ordained: The whole Ceremony is concluded with a Prayer suitable to the Occasion and the Blessing.

As to what is most remarkable in the Ordination of Priests; we cannot but take Notice first, that they partake of those Powers which the Ministers of Calvinist Protestant Churches have, and of those likewise of Catholick Priests: They do not offer Sacrifice according to the Sense of that Word in the *Roman Church*, but Bishop *Sparrow* tells us, they are Ministers of the Gospel †, and as such offer Sacrifices of Prayers, and Praise, and Thanksgiving: As those are only spiritual and metaphorical Sacrifices, the Calvinist Ministers would be sacrificing Priests, as well

* *Nihil habet vim legis, priusquam Regius assensus fuerit adhibitus iis quæ Synodus decernenda censuerit*, &c.

† The Parliament has given that Power to the King. See Statute of 1535. in which *Henry VIII.* was declared Head of the Church. “ Our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, “ shall have full Power, from Time to Time, to visit, repress, reform, &c. all such Errors, Heresies, “ Abuses, &c.”

‡ *Num credat se interno Spiritus Sancti instinctu vocatum*, &c.

§ *Sparrow's Rationale*, &c. p. 251. Edit. of 1722.

as the Ministers of the Church of *England*: But, says the same Author, there is another *unbloody Sacrifice* which the Church of *England's* Priests offer in Memory of the Death of our Saviour, and for the sake of that Sacrifice, those Ministers of the Gospel who administer the Sacraments, and preach the Word of God, &c. amongst the *English*, are called Priests. The Rubrick mentions what goes before the Ordination, *viz.* Testimonies, Attestations about the Birth, Quality, Studies, and Education of the Candidates. Much might be said concerning all these Points, which tho' essential to the Examen, are not to our present Purpose: For though we may charitably suppose, that the utmost Endeavours are used to get sure and exact Inquiries, yet all Men are either deceived or Deceivers; Views are false, and Cabals and Underhand-dealings are apt to interfere with those Examen and Testimonies. The Gentlemen also who are ordained may grow remiss, and look upon their Duty as a Trade; numberless unforeseen Accidents happen, and it is quite useless for us to pretend to inspect into the Particulars of every different Situation or Circumstance. A witty Author^y says, the Lives of the *English* Clergy are more orderly than those of the *French* Clergy. One of the Reasons which he gives for this Difference is, that they have their Education in the University of *Oxford* or of *Cambridge*, at a good Distance from the Corruption of the capital City, and of the Court. They are not guilty of Gallantry. "The Priests are most of them married, their Clownishness contracted in the Colleges, the Difficulty of conversing with Women in *England*, are a Kind of Force upon them to be content^z with, or stick to, their own Wives " Their Churchmen are of a close, reserved Humour, and mostly Pedants " The said *Voltaire* enters into Particulars, and draws a lively and genteel Representation of *French Petits Maitres* belonging to the Church, and ends with supposing, that the *English* Churchmen thank God for being *Protestants*. To this one may return for Answer, that the Defects of each must be counterbalanced; the *French* are of a light, airy Temper, and wanton in their Diversions, apt to run into Excesses, which, as they please their Imagination, appear also greater to others; the *English* are more wary, and like a mysterious Secrecy in some Sorts of Pleasures; they do not love losing Time in light, apish Tricks, and are not satisfy'd with bare Ideas and *French* Love-Talk; their Bodies are well fed, robust, and strong, their Desires impetuous and fierce; so are only pleased with substantial Pleasures. Solidity is what they aim at, and they sink as deep in their Pleasures as into Sciences; but this forsooth seems to the *French* a dull Diversion. This Disposition may require and admit of some sort of Mistresses, of a certain Value, and of a different sort of Gallantry from what is agreeable to the *French*. As to Wine, the same Author tells us, that Ministers of the Church of *England* go sometimes to Taverns (he might have said, they do it frequently, and so openly, that Strangers are offended at it) but Custom allows it; and if they happen to get drunk, still it is with Gravity, and in a kind of deep Meditation: Nothing is more real, and at the same Time more remarkable, than the serious, grave, and recollected Countenance of *English* Churchmen in Taverns; and 'tis not easy to determine, which is most to be wondered at, by those who are Strangers to the *English* Way of Living, either their Seriousness in their Debauches, or their constant Steadiness in the Pursuit of them. Coffee-Houses also furnish them with Opportunities of Diversion and Amusement. As they are not ashamed of appearing in their *Canonical Dress* at Taverns, they are still less afraid of

^y *Voltaire*, Letter V.

^z The Author says *Bishops*, but we suppose he means the whole Hierarchy.

being seen in Coffee-Houses: There they can and do discuss all the Affairs of the Universe, from the greatest Mysteries of Divinity to the least Concerns of the lowest *Lay Man* of their Parish: And as every one is welcome for their Money, both to Taverns and Coffee-Houses, a Priest of the *English* Church is upon the level with other Customers. We do not mean by this Digression to give our Readers an ill Opinion of the *English* Clergy; for though this Character suits the Generality of them, the whole Body must not be censured or despised; 'tis well known, that amongst the *English* Churchmen, many are eminent for Learning and Virtue: Even the forementioned Customs, though they may seem contrary to good Order and Decency, yet they are not inconsistent with true Merit, neither do they appear so ridiculous when countenanced as they are by the general Practice of a whole Nation, which is no ways offended by them. But we must give a Description of the Ordinations of Priests. It consists of Prayers, Exhortations and Imposition of Hands. By the Constitutions of the Year 1603, the Time appointed for giving Orders is on those *Sundays* which follow the Ember Weeks during the Service, in the Cathedral or Parochial Churches where the Bishops reside, in the Presence of the Archdeacon, the Dean, and two Prebendaries, or at least of four grave Persons, who must be Masters of Arts, and have lawful Power to preach: They are only as Witnesses to the Ordination, which belongs solely to the Bishop; he alone has Authority to say to those who are ordained, *Receive the Holy Ghost*; the other four only pray with the Bishops, and lay their Hands upon the ordained, with this Difference, that, amongst the *English*, as with the Catholics, the Imposition of the Bishop's Hands denotes his Power and Authority to ordain, whereas that of the Witnesses is only a Mark of their Approbation and Consent to their being admitted to the *Brotherhood*, if we may use that Expression. To become a Priest, 'tis necessary to be made first a Deacon; but both Orders may be received on one and the same Day. After the Examen, and the Exhortation which is immediately before the Communion Service, the Epistle is read, *Acts* Chap. xx. from Ver. 17. to 36. and, if both Orders are given on the same Day, the 3d Chap. of the 1st Epistle to *Timothy* is added. The Reading of the Gospel follows, out of the last Chapter of *St. Matthew*, from Ver. 18. to the End of that Chapter; or out of *St. John* Chap. xx. from Ver. 19. to 24. Then the *Veni Creator* is sung or read. The rest is but little different from the Deacon's Ordination. The Congregation is desired to join in mental Prayer for the happy Success of this Ceremony; Silence is^b kept for some short Time; then the Bishop prays aloud, and immediately lays his Hands, and the Priests present lay theirs upon those who are ordained, and who are kneeling. The Bishop uses at the same Time this Form so much found Fault with by the Puritans^c. "Receive the Holy Ghost. Sins shall be forgiven to all those to whom you forgive them, &c. Be faithful Dispensers of the Word of God and of the Sacraments, &c." This being said, he puts the Bible into their Hands.

Now we must give an Account of the Ordination of Archbishops and Bishops. Is it convenient we should take Notice of their Duties? The Bishop is, under Christ, (according to the Church of *England's*^d Doctrine) the first Pastor of the Church: Inferior Ministers are only his Deputies; when he is absent, the Priest may bless the

^a *In Diebus Dominicis immediatè sequentibus jejunia quatuor temporum in Ecclesia Cathedrali aut Parochiali, &c.*

^b To give them Time to pray.

^c See *Calderswood, Altare Damasc.* Chap. x. p. 432. and fol. Edit. Ludg. Bat. 1708.

^d *Sparrow*, above-cited, p. 56.

Faithful, but whenever he is present at the divine Service, it belongs to him to pronounce the Blessing: For since *St. Paul*, Chap. vii. Ver. 7. of his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, assures us, that the lesser is blessed by the greater, it would be indecent to see a Bishop blessed by an inferior Priest: The Bishop then must bless the Priest, that is according to order. This is one of those favourite Passages of Scripture which the Clergy have always present to their Mind, and who knows but some of them are convinced, that the New Testament is the Word of God, and divinely inspired, chiefly by such Places. However the Bishop's Blessing is highly valued in *England*, and 'tis very common to desire it of them, and to receive it kneeling; and it must be owned, that the *English*, who so scrupulously pretend to follow the Rules and Practices of the Primitive Church, have in this Particular kept up ^a a very ancient Custom.

It is well known, and we have often repeated it, that the *English* Hierarchy is not of divine Right, but by Law established, yet the Episcopal Clergy think this is not literally true as to what concerns Religion, but only as to the Manner of being invested with their Authority. According to the Author of the ^{*}Philosophical Letters, "they are not a little mortified in being obliged to own, that they hold all by a Law made by prophane Lay-Men." Yet by this Law the Clergy are Members of the Commonwealth ⁱ, whereas this Notion of divine Right would only make so many Tyrants in Surplices. There are two Archbishops and twenty-four Bishops in *England*; they enjoy the Dignity of Barons, and take Place before those of the Laity; so the Bishop of *London* ² being the first Bishop, is likewise the first Baron; all are Peers of the Realm, and sit in the House of Lords, except the Bishop of the *Isle of Man*, who is named by and holds of a Subject. "The Canon Law, says the same Author, does not allow Bishops to give their Vote in the House of Lords in criminal Cases, or when they condemn any body to Death, or to the Loss of any Member, because the Church does not love Blood." He enlarges upon this Saying, and cites one Exception which may be seen in his Book. The Archbishops are called *your Grace*, which Title is also bestowed on Dukes. The Bishops are stiled *Right Reverend Fathers in God*: This may be seen in every Book dedicated to any of them. The *Scots* Presbyterians inveigh bitterly against their Pride, their Vanity, ^b their Table, their Effeminacy, the Richness of their Furniture, and their Palaces: Even in these Days they pretend every Part of the Bishop's Conduct should be regulated according to ⁱ Apostolical Simplicity: They also reproach *English* Episcopacy with being the same as that of Catholics, the same Policy, the same Way of Government, the same Synods, the same Causes brought before them, the same Tribunals, the same Ecclesiastical Officers, &c. and this particular Account is season'd with charitable Railings and Invectives.

At the Consecration of Bishops or Archbishops, the third Chapter of *St. Paul's* first Epistle to *Timothy*, from the first Verse to the eighth is read; then some Verses

^a In the primitive Ages of Christianity they never went out of the Church without the Bishop or Priest's Blessing. It was received kneeling, and the Deacon prepared the Congregation for it by saying, *Bow or kneel for the Blessing.*

^b *Voltaire.*

ⁱ They are the Words of an *English* Nobleman, mentioned by *Voltaire*, and denoted by Lord B.

² See *Memoires & Observations faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre.* Printed at the Hague in 1693.

^b Nothing to what *English* Histories mention. *Nevil*, Archbishop of *York*, the Day of his Consecration entertained at Dinner eight or ten thousand People. An Abbot of *Canterbury*, when installed, feasted five thousand.

ⁱ *Calderwood*, Chap. V. an *Italian* Author, tells us gravely, that the Apostles governed only a small Boat, and that the Church of Christ was then but a Cabin: but their Successors, says he, took the Spoils of Egypt to adorn the Sanctuary. A notable Way of expounding Scripture!

out of Chap. x. or xxi. of St. *John's* Gospel; the Creed is said; the Bishop elected is presented by two other Bishops to the Archbishop of the Province, or to another Bishop officiating for him; "Right Reverend Father in Christ, *say they*, we present " to you this pious and learned Man, to be consecrated Bishop." The King's Order for his Consecration is produced and read openly: The Bishop elect takes the Oath of Supremacy, and that of Obedience to his Metropolitan, which last is omitted at the Consecration of an Archbishop. The Consecrator moves the Congregation to pray, saying to them, "Brethren, it is written in the Gospel of St. *Luke*, that our Saviour " Christ continued the whole Night in Prayer, before he did choose and send forth " his twelve Apostles. It is written also in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Dis- " ciples did fast and pray before they laid Hands on *Paul* and *Barnabas* and " sent them forth. Let us therefore following the Example of our Saviour Christ and " his Apostles, first fall to Prayer, &c. Then the Litany is said; and after this Place, *that it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops*, &c. the following Prayer is inserted: "That it may please thee to bless this our Brother elected, and to send thy " Grace upon him, that he may duly execute the Office whereunto he is called, to " the edifying of thy Church, &c." The People answer, *We beseech thee to hear us*, &c. The Litany ends with a Prayer, after which the Archbishop, sitting in his Chair, says to him that is to be consecrated, "Brother, forasmuch as the Holy " Scripture and the ancient Canons command, that we should not be hasty in lay- " ing on Hands, and admitting any Person to Government in the Church of Christ, " which he has purchased with no less Price than the Effusion of his own Blood; " before I admit you to this Administration, I will examine you, &c." The Questions end with a Prayer, which is followed by the Hymn * of the Holy Ghost said or sung, at the End of which the Archbishop says another long Prayer. Then the Archbishop and Bishops present lay their Hands upon the Head of the elected Bishop, the Archbishop saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost and remember " that thou stir up the Grace of God which is given thee by this Imposition of our " Hands, &c." Still keeping one Hand on the Head of the Bishop elect, with the other delivers him the Bible, saying, "give Heed unto Reading, Exhortation, and " Doctrine, think upon the Things contained in this Book, &c. Be to the Flock of " Christ a Shepherd, not a Wolf hold up the weak be so mer- " ciful so minister Discipline" Then the Archbishop and the new Bishops, with others, receive the Communion: And the whole Ceremony concludes with a Prayer by Way of Collect to desire Almighty God to pour down his Blessing on the new Bishop, &c.

WE must take Notice in this Place, that some Alterations were made in the Form of these Ordinations under the Reign of *Charles* the Second; the Subject is dry and unpleasant, but cannot be omitted in such a Work as this. 1. In the Ordination of Priests heretofore the Ceremony began by reading the Epistle and Gospel; the *Veni Creator* was said next, then the Candidates were presented to the Bishop by the Archdeacon, the Congregation was advertised of it, and a Collect said. But this Order is inverted, in the new Ritual, as reformed under *Charles* the Second: They now begin with presenting the Candidates, which the Bishop notifies to the People, the Collect follows, then the Epistle and Gospel, different from those in the first Ritual. 2. The Exhortations and Questions are the same in both Rituals, these

* The *Veni Creator*.

are followed in the new by the *Veni Creator*, which in the old was sung after the Gospel. Then the Prayer is said, which answers to the Preface in the *Roman Pontifical*, then comes the Imposition of Hands with a form which has been altered. It was, "Receive the Holy Ghost, Sins shall be remitted (or forgiven) to those¹ to whom "you shall forgive them, and they shall be tied (or retained or imputed) to those to whom you shall tie them. Be therefore a faithful Dispenser of the Word of "God &c." Now it is thus, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work "of a Priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our "Hands; whose Sins &c." 3. In the first Editions of *Edward's Liturgy*, it is ordered that, after delivering the Gospel to those who are ordained, the Creed shall be sung without mentioning determinately which Creed; but in that of *Charles the Second* it is expressly set down that it must be the *Nicene Creed*². This in the first Editions of *Edward's Liturgy*, is followed by a Prayer with which the whole Ceremony ends, but in the new one after this Prayer another is said and the Blessing pronounced.

THE Alterations in the Consecration of Bishops are these. 1. The Office begins with a Collect which is not to be found in *Edward's Liturgy*. 2. After the reading of the Gospel, *Charles the Second's Ritual* expressly mentions the *Nicene Creed*, which was left undetermined in *Edward's*; which last makes no mention of either a Sermon or of a *Rochet*, as does *Charles's Liturgy*. 3. A new Question is put to the Bishop elect, which was not asked in the first Ritual, viz. *Will you be faithful in ordaining, sending, or laying hands upon others*? The Form of Words which is used with the Imposition of Hands has likewise been very much altered in the Ritual of *Charles the Second*³. 4. The old Ritual does not mention the Posture in which the new Bishop is to be, when this Form is pronounced upon him, whereas the new says he must be kneeling. Lastly, the same Prayer and Blessing, added, as we said before, in the Ordination of Priests, is also added, in the Consecration of Bishops, after that Collect, with which the Ceremony concluded in the old Liturgy.

THE *Presbyterians* laugh at, and despise those Ceremonies⁴ which Denote any difference between a Priest and a Bishop; the Ordination of both, say they, is the same, Consecration only raises the Bishop above the Priest: But does this Consecration give other spiritual Keys to the Bishop? By no means: He only receives a Dignity, which in these Days is joined to much exterior Pomp and Pride, but in the primitive Church was very plain and without Ornaments, and was conferred accordingly. The Bishop was no more amongst other Priests than the Archdeacon amongst other Deacons. These, and such like Disputes, we leave them to decide, if they can, amongst themselves, to enquire into the particular Privileges enjoyed by Bishops, according to the Rubrick, in the Government in the Church. They have the sole Right of ordaining Deacons and Priests according to the *Ordinal*; of dedicating⁵ Churches newly built, of blef-

¹ *Accipito Spiritum Sanctum, cujus remisseris peccata erunt ei remissa* &c.

² *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum ad officium & opus Presbyterii in Ecclesia Dei, quod tibi committitur per impositionem manuum nostrarum*, &c.

³ *His peractis symbolum Nicenum cantabitur aut recitabitur.*

⁴ *Nun fidelis eris in ordinandis & mittendis aliis, iisque manus imponendo?*

⁵ The Ritual of *Edward* says, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum & excitare memineris gratiam Dei quæ in te est, per manuum impositionem* &c. But that of *Charles the Second* adds to it thus, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum ad officium & opus Episcopi in ecclesia Dei, quod jam tibi* &c. as in *v* . . . *Ac memento ut exjuseles gratiam Dei quæ data est tibi per hanc manuum nostrarum impositionem*, &c.

⁶ They nickname them *Ludicra Sacramentalia*.

⁷ The Book of Ordinations is so called.

⁸ The Bishop lays the first Stone, or deposes another to that Function. See *Calderwood* above cited chap. V. p. 248.

sing Church-yards, and giving Confirmation to the Faithful. We must take notice here that the *English* have a great respect for Churches, and it is expressly forbid, by the Constitutions of *Canterbury* in 1604, to hold in them any *Secular Court* or other prophane meeting. They also carefully avoid carrying any Burthen when they go into a Cathedral, understanding literally, say the Presbyterians^v, the Passage of *St. Mark's Gospel*, chap. xi. ver. 16. They take off their Hats when they go into a Church, and either make a half *Genuflexion* or a Bow when they pass before the Altar. This last mentioned Ceremony is still more displeasing to the Presbyterians, though they are so charitable as to give it an Interpretation relative to the Communion: But it must be owned, and it seems likely, that the Dedication and Consecration of Churches, by giving Sanction to such ceremonial Observances, have also increased the Privileges of the Clergy, been the occasion of Immunities, and restored the ^w Right of Refuge, so detrimental to civil Society in some Christian Countries, chiefly in *Portugal*, where it is carried to an enormous Excess. The Blessings of Church-yards seem equally absurd to the Presbyterians. Burying-places are, they say, of their own nature sacred and religious. And indeed such always have been the Notion of Antiquity, Pagan, Jewish, or Christian, and it would be useless to bring long Citations in Proof of what may be seen in almost every *Greek* or *Latin* Author. One Remark is necessary in this Place, viz. that the Custom of having Church-yards about or near the Churches, was established among the Pagans, and that *Lycurgus* some Ages before Christianity had ordered that the Dead should be buried in the Towns or about their Temples. Christians have only sanctified this Custom by religious Motives, as several others have been, which the Heathens followed long before us. We need not mention here several Prerogatives, grounded on the *Canon Law*, which the Bishops enjoy, such as to publish Censures, to interdict from Ecclesiastical Functions, to degrade, to depose, to *Anathematise*, to excommunicate, to require and receive Tithes, to give Leave and Approbation to teach, and confer Livings and Benefices^x.

MR. *Des Maizeaux*, in his Preface to *Melanges curieux des pieces attribuees a St. Evremond*, Edition 1726. speaking of *Collier*, whom Father *Courbeville* had mentioned with the Title of an *English Bishop*, makes the following curious Remark. "The Nonjurors, says he, having made a Separation from the Church of *England* since the Revolution, made Archbishops and Bishops of their own; The Catholicks have also their own Bishops: So that there are in *England* two Sorts of Heterodox Bishops, or to use a more civil Expression, two Sorts of Bishops *in partibus*, who

^v *Leets* or *Leet Courts*. See *Calderswood* p. 250.

^w See the same Author in the same Place.

^x I say *restore*, for it was in use both amongst the Jews and the Pagans.

* To obtain a Benefice, first one must be presented by a lawful *Patron* without making with him any Bargain directly or indirectly for Money or Money-worth. They are reckoned Patrons who have either founded the Livings or have acquired by Purchase or Inheritance the Right of presenting a proper Person to the Bishop of the Diocess. The Presentation being signed and sealed in due Form, is brought to the Bishop or to his Vicar-General, with the testimonial Letters of Ordination. The Candidate is examined, and if found capable must declare, that *he will conform to the Church of England by Law established*. This Declaration he must sign, and have the Bishop or his Delegate's Attestation of it. Moreover he must take the Oath against Simony, that *he knows of no direct or indirect Simonical Contract made with the Patron, and that if any has been made, without his Knowledge, he renounces it*. Then he receives the Investiture from the Bishop or his Delegate in these Words, *Institu te Restorem Ecclesie parochialis de . . . & habeto curam animarum, accipe curam tuam &c meam*. The Bishop's Mandate is sent sealed to the Archdeacon of the Place, who by himself or his Substitute puts the Candidate in Possession, by putting the Bell-rope into his Hand to ring the Bell. He is left alone in the Church, rings the Bell and so takes Possession, this Ceremony is called *Induction*.

The first two Months after his Induction he must read every *Sunday* the 39 Articles, and openly declare his consenting thereunto sincerely and truly. He must also during that Space of Time read the whole Morning and Evening Service, and give a formal and publick Assent to all that is contained and prescribed in the Book of *Common Prayer*, and to the Administration of the Sacraments according to the *English Liturgy*.

He must also read on a *Sunday* the Attestation of his subscribing to the beforementioned Declarations.

“ exercise their Functions The Government tolerates them tho’ they
“ are Enemies to it &c.”

ENGLISH Bishops have their own Vicars, and *Officials* in each Diocese, but the Officials are more known in *England* by the Name of Chancellors. These are the true and chief *Officials*, but there are some Commissioners who are often^r mistaken for them. So Archdeacons, who in ancient Times were only the first amongst Deacons, are now in the *English* Church above Priests. Bishops, says a Presbyterian^s, are called *reverend*, Archbishops *most reverend*, Archdeacons *venerable*: Common Priests have no Title bestowed upon them. The Archdeacon’s chief Function is to visit the Diocese by Procuration in default of the Bishop or Vicar. Those Visitors enter into so many Particulars^a that ’tis no wonder the Bishops stand in need of Officers to help them. The Archdeacon must make his Visit at least once in three Years, and this Dignity is not more agreeable to the Presbyterians than other Church-Officers: They think it intolerable^b that two Functions, which, in the Apostles Time, were distinguished, should now be united in one Person; and that the Archdeacon should take place before other Priests; which, they say, is still more irregular, when it happens, as it does sometimes, that he himself is no Priest^c. As to those whom we have mentioned as being^d *Commissioners*, they are Judges subject to the Bishops and Archdeacons, mostly Laymen^e and only Doctors of Law. We shall say nothing of Canons, Deans, Readers, Singing-boys, what they are and their Functions being well known, but must add some further Remarks on the *English* Clergy.

UPON comparing this Description of the *English* Ordinations with what we have extracted^f out of the best Rituals, to give an Account of the same Ordinations amongst Catholics, it is evident that the *English* Ceremonies are all in the *Roman* Pontifical, out of which they have left out only those which seemed to them superstitious or useless. The candid Reader may likewise observe, that, from the Slipper to the Mitre, every Part of their Ornaments is figurative; even some of them have no less than half a dozen Significations, so that which way soever they are considered, they have a Shew of Holiness and Religion, draw Respect and Veneration from the Laity, and add Splendor, Strength, and Virtue to those who are clothed in them. Types also and mysterious Significations are applyed to the few Ceremonies appointed in the *English* Ordinal. The Church of *England* believes, as does the Catholic, that religious Worship becomes more venerable by the Ceremonies, and the ornamental Decency of Robes. Why then, says one of their Authors^g, should Religion be deprived of that Pomp and Splendor, which always accompanies the solemn and publick Actions of Kings and temporal Judges, and makes them to be more revered? The outward Ceremonies contribute as much to inspire a due Respect for it, and as

^r *Officiales foranei*.

^s See *Calderwood* citing *Cartwright* Chap. VI. p. 341. “Dedignantur (Archidiaconi) pastores probatissimos Ecclesiae agnoscere sibi aequales. Archiepiscopi Reverendissimi, Episcopi Reverendi, Archidiaconi venerabilis elogio cohonestantur. Presbyterorum turba nullo ornatur honore cognomento.”

^a See *Calderwood* Chap. V. p. 317. these Visits are, 1. to hinder the Priests from being guilty of any Excess, Defect, or Negligence, in Preaching, Visiting the Sick, and instructing the Faithful. 2. To enquire whether the Church-wardens do their Duty, in seeing, that the Parishioners keep the *Sundays*, that the Church be in due Repair, that Disorders and Scandals be suppressed, and the Money well disbursed. 3. To examine whether School-Masters instruct the Children &c. 4. To put a stop to false Opinions, to Impiety, Contempt of Discipline, and to unlawful Meetings.

^b *Calderwood* Chap. VI. p. 342.

^c *Archidiacono Presbytero existente vel non existente*. See Const. of 1597.

^d *Officiales foranei*.

^e *Plerique Doctores juris Civilis in nullo ordine sacro constituti*.

^f See Catholic Cerem. Tom. II. of this Work.

^g *Sparrow* in his *Rationale or Exposition*, p. 249.

this Respect ought never to be separated from religious Worship, it is by consequence necessary that there should be Distinction of Ranks in the Church, and Habits to denote that Difference: Such decent Customs excite Sentiments of Fear and Respect, and we find by woful Experience that when these are wanting, Religion also decays. These are the Arguments of an illustrious Bishop of the Church of *England*, whose Book and Page we have cited: what can be said more to the Purpose, in Favour of typical Ceremonies, and allegorical Habits in the publick Service?

THE chief Ornament, by which Churchmen are distinguished from the Laity, is the Surplice: Ministers of the Church of *England* are to put it on whenever they administer any Sacrament, and on ^h several other Occasions, the Particulars of which we need not mention. We are told there are several Members of the *English* Communion, so devoted to, or superstitious in the Use of a Surplice, that they would not partake of the Lord's Supper, if administered by any Parson without it; and on t'other side several bigotted Presbyterians who look upon it ⁱas the Badg of Antichrist. Bishops, Deans, Canons in Cathedral Churches wear a Cope besides the Surplice, and are to put it on ^k at the Communion Service, Administration of Sacraments or any other religious Function, which is to be performed with Solemnity. The Whiteness of the Surplice denotes the Innocency of Life with which Priests are, or ought to be endowed; no Habit then could be pitched upon either more decent in itself, or more adapted to faithful Servants of God, who by their Office are to appear before ^l the supreme Being, with the Purity of ^m Angels to intercede for Men. But if white Surplices are an Emblem of Purity and Innocency of Life, are there not as good Ground, to say, that the black Clothes which the Churchmen wear are likewise a Type or Figure of their modest and plain Behaviour; that the black is also a Symbol of their Mortification, and being dead to the World; and lastly that it may signify their Grief and inward Mourning, which their Office requires them to express for the disorderly and sinful Lives of Men whom he calls to Conversion and Repentance? This Remark may, however, convince our Readers, that it is an easy thing to find out typical and figurative Explanations for any outward Ceremony.

NONE can be made a Deacon before twenty three, nor a Priest before twenty four, nor a Bishop before thirty. Orders are given as we said before on the *Sundays* after *Ember Weeks* ⁿ according to this ecclesiastical Constitution of 1603. "Forasmuch as the ancient Fathers of the Church, led by Example of the Apostles, appointed Prayers and Fasts to be used at the solemn Ordering of Ministers; and to that Purpose allotted certain Times, in which only sacred Orders might be given or conferred: We following their holy and religious Example, do constitute and decree, that no Deacons or Ministers be made and ordained but only on the *Sundays* immediately following *jejunia quatuor temporum* commonly called *Ember Weeks*, appointed in ancient Times for Prayer and Fasting (purposely for this Cause at their first Institution) and so continued at this Day in the Church of *England*." As the Ceremonies of their Ordinations are but few, according to the Description of them

^h See *Canons and Constitutions ecclesiastical*, an. 1603.

ⁱ Examples of this, are daily to be met with in all Protestant Countries, especially in *England*: The Author of *Memoirs and Observations* p. 119. wittily ridicules the Folly of this *Mechanism*, which looks upon the Institutions of indifferent Customs, as a Heresy, a Profanation of holy Things, and a downright Impiety.

^k See *Canons and Constitutions*, an. 1603.

^l Sparrow in his *Rationale*, p. 249.

^m *Calderwood* Chap. X. p. 657. says, one might as well have given Wings to Churchmen to testify their ready and quick Obedience to God's Commands, as Surplices to denote their Purity.

ⁿ Bishop Sparrow, p. 96. of his *Rationale*.

before given, the *English* pretend it is ^o more conformable to the Practice of the Primitive Church.

SOME Pastors (Priests or Ministers) have the Title of *Rectors*, as belonging to such Churches, which, at the Reformation, were independent from any Monastery. Others are only *Vicars*, but for Life. Lastly, some are barely *Curates*, without any Benefice, and, if we may say so, only receive Wages ^p from the Rectors or Bishops. These are often very poor; even some Livings are of so small an Income, says a *French* Author^q, as not to suffice for their wearing Apparel, which forces them to have Recourse to other Methods, even the most ^r abject, of getting a Livelihood.

THE Convocation of the Clergy is a kind of Parliament, the Archbishops and Bishops are the upper House; the lower is composed of the inferior Clergy, *viz.* twenty-six Deans, sixty Archdeacons, five hundred and seventy six Canons, besides Curates and Deacons. They meet upon the Concerns of the Church, Tithes, raising Taxes, ecclesiastical Laws, which must afterwards be approved by the King and Parliament. They hold likewise national Synods, who keep an exact Correspondence in all their Deliberations, and make no absolute Definition, but with an unanimous Consent.

UNIVERSITIES are so closely united to Religion, that we must not omit giving some Account of them. They send ^t Deputies to Parliament. At *Cambridge* a Master of Arts must study eleven Years before he can obtain the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, or in Physick; *viz.* seven Years for the Degree of Batchelor, and four more for that of Doctor; such a long Apprenticeship seems intended to produce learned Men only. At *Oxford* the Regulation is still more severe; seven Years are required before one may be Master of Arts, seven more to be Batchelor in Divinity, and four more to become Doctor. They assure us also that the Severity and Strictness of the Examens are proportionable to the Length of the Apprenticeship, and yet some are made Doctors, as well as in other Universities, who are not learned; though it may not happen so often there as in other Countries, in which some Brightness of Genius, with a superficial Knowledge, joined to some Favour and Intrigue, easily obtains the Doctorship without Learning. We shall not entertain our Readers with an Enumeration of the Rights and Privileges enjoy'd by those two Universities. That does not concern our Subject, not being religious Customs or Ceremonies. Yet there is one we cannot omit, as having some Relation to it, *viz.* on the Feast of *S. Scholastica*, the Citizens of *Oxford* pay a Penny a Head to their University, as a Tribute, or a Token of their Submission. Probably the Memory of that Saint is chiefly, if not only, kept up upon Account of that Ceremony.

WE must now mention another Custom, which deserves the Reader's Notice, and is not known in foreign Countries; it is *the Benefit of the Clergy*. "About six hundred Years ago, says our Author, under William the Second, Ignorance was spread far and wide to so great a Degree, that even some Priests in *England* could scarce read. To remedy this Evil, and set Things upon a better Footing, the King ordered, that in certain Cases, as Manslaughter, &c. . . . the Criminal convicted should have his Life given him, and only be burnt in the Hand with a red-hot

^o The same Author, p. 141.

^p *Curatus Presbyter vel Diaconus stipendiarius absque titulo perpetui beneficii.*

^q *Memoires & Observations faites par un Voyageur*, p. 59.

^r I have, faith he, seen one beg at *Temple-Bar*.

^t At least *Oxford* does.

"Iron, if he could read; though at present there are but few even of the lowest Rank who cannot read, this Law is still in Force¹. The Criminal is asked *what he has to say in his own Defence, that Sentence of Death may not pass upon him*: "To which he answers, that he demands the Benefit of the Clergy." This heretofore was not granted without the guilty Person actually read some Lines in a Book of an old Gothick² Letter; in which Case the Ordinary of *Newgate* certify'd, that he read like a Clerk³. But as some Ministers made a Handle of this Custom to get Money, without having any Regard to the Abilities of those who claimed this Benefit, it is now granted to every Body, without their demanding it, or reading what was commonly called the *Neck Verse*⁴. Lords were always allowed the same Benefit, it being supposed they could read, and are not burnt in the Hand.

THE King's Chapel presents itself next under Consideration; take this short Description of it. The Dean is generally a Bishop, who receives no Command but immediately from the King, he has a Sub-dean and twelve other Ministers under him, to perform divine Service; twenty Lay Cantors, who are called *Clerks of the Chapel*; one of them teaches twelve singing Boys, two are appointed to play upon the Organ. Prayers are said thrice every Day in the King's Chapel, and two Sermons preached on *Sundays* and *Holidays*. The *Clerk of the Closet* is a Churchman who takes Care of the King's *Oratory*, who, with two more to officiate in his Absence, always attends the King. Forty eight Chaplains preach also in their Turn every *Sunday* and *Holiday*. To avoid Jealousy betwixt the two Universities, we are told, that twenty four of these Chaplains are from *Oxford*, and twenty four from *Cambridge*. We need not mention the Grand-Almoner, Sub-Almoner, Keeper of the Chapel, &c.

THE Customs established in the Performanc of divine Service, and appointed by the *English* Liturgy are; that all Priests and Deacons are required to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayers. The Order of both is the same. They begin with several Passages of Scripture, which the Minister says aloud. 'Tis not without very good Grounds that the *English* set a great Value on those publick Prayers, and look upon them as an Offering or Dedication which we make to God of all the Actions of the Day. All Religions agree, and will ever agree in those Sentiments. The Jews and Pagans, long before Christianity, were convinced of the Usefulness of such early Devotions. The Mahometans never allow of any Dispensation from that Duty. Christians have still greater Advantages in this Practice, and stronger Motives to excite them to it; the Certainty of Revelation, and Grounds of Hope and Confidence in God, which was not in Pagans; rational and solid Truths, whereas Mahometans have only an inconsistent chymical System of Religion; lastly, plain and clear Principles, which were only shew'd at a Distance to the Jews, under dark Emblems and Figures: But they are apt to admit as may Pharisaical Niceties as other Religions:

¹ See *Memoirs and Observations*, above-cited. See likewise *Calderwood*, p. 309.

² This Character is well known in *England*, most of the publick Acts being in that sort of Letters.

³ To read like a Clerk was heretofore an high Praise; but now many of them in all Countries are very illiterate and imprudent. Hence comes the *French* Proverb, *faire un pas de Clerc*. In old *French* the Word *Clerc* signified an unmarried young Man, as that of *Bachelor* is now given to them in *England*.

⁴ The Mention of this Benefit of the Clergy seems to require some Account of those judicial Proceedings in which it is claimed; but as they are universally known to every *Englishman*, and no ways belong to the Subject treated of in these Sheets, we shall only refer Foreigners to the so often cited *Memoires and Observations*, Pages 273, and following to 355. Only we must beg Leave to take Notice of the Clemency, Justice and impartialty of *English* Laws, in allowing so many of the Jury to be excepted; half of the Jury to be Foreigners, on the Trial of Strangers; the said Jury to be of the same State and Condition with the accused; even those who are pressed to Death, for not pleading, to avoid the Confiscation of their Goods; and lastly, all the Proceedings to be *viva voce*, and in open Court. Such are some of the Privileges of *Englishmen*!

How many are proud of, and value themselves upon, their regular Observance of this Devotion, as very meritorious in the Sight of God, whereas but too often this Regularity is the only Proof of their faithful complying with the Duties of Christianity. However we must go on with the Order of those Prayers in the *English* Liturgy. The above-mentioned Passages are followed by an Exhortation, to prepare for the general Confession of Sins, which is said kneeling, by the Minister and the whole Congregation: This * Ceremony is as ancient as *St. Basil*, and was not then peculiar to his Diocese, but universally practised in the whole Church. The Absolution is pronounced by the Priest standing, the People still kneeling; for receiving Forgiveness requires an humble Posture, but forgiving shews Authority. Here we must observe, that the Church of *England* uses three different Forms of Absolution, the one here mentioned in the Morning and Evening Prayer, another at the Visitation of the Sick, and a third at the Communion Service. After the Absolution, the Priest and Congregation, all kneeling, say the Lord's Prayer, which is followed by some Responses, the saying a Psalm, some Lesson out of the Old Testament, as set down in the Calendar at the Beginning of the Liturgy, the singing or reciting the *Te Deum* ^y or *Benedicite omnia*; another Lesson out of the New Testament, a Hymn, or a Psalm; the Creed said or sung, to which the People stand; the Lord's Prayer a second time; several Responses, three Collects, a Prayer for the King and Queen, another for the Royal Family, a third for the Clergy, *St. Chrysostome's* Prayer, and the Blessing. In this Order are the Morning and Evening Prayers said: Now those who have endeavoured to explain the Liturgy, take Notice, 1. That the Doxology is often omitted by the *English*, as it always is by Catholics; because these Words, *for thine is the Kingdom*, &c. are no Part of the Prayer, and are thought to be an Addition made to it by the *Grecian* Church. 2. On this Response, *Lord open my Lips*, that our Mouths were shut by Sin, are to be opened by God, and that the following Words, *hasten to come to our Help* ^z are a most excellent Defence against all Incursions of the Devil, &c. By which we may perceive, that in the Church of *England*, as well as in other Christian Communions, the Devil, who is said by *St. Peter* (1 *Pet.* c. 5.) to seek whom he may devour, is thought to be the Author of all the Evils which Men do to, or suffer from, one another. 3. That the Lessons being taken from the Old and New Testament, is agreeable to the Practice of the Churches of *Egypt* (he might have said of all Christian Churches) to shew the Harmony of both Covenants, the first of which is the Gospel shewed and foreseen at a Distance, the other is, the Gospel fulfilled. The Rubrick says, that the Minister must stand when he reads the Lessons, and turn himself towards the Congregation, that he may be heard the better: This is very rational, for those Lessons, the Decalogue, &c. are an Instruction to the People; but when he addresses himself to God by Prayer, by saying or singing a Psalm, or by Confession, he must then turn from the People and look ^a towards the upper end of the Chancel, which is the chief and most to be revered Part of the Church ^b, by reason of the mysterious Presence of God (at the Communion) not to mention other allegorical Explanations of this Ceremony. Hymns and Psalms are sung or said in a standing Posture, as an evident Token that the Hearts ^c of the

* *L'Estrange*, Alliance of Divine Offices, London 1690, and *Sparrow*, &c.

^y The *Te Deum* is commonly thought to be the Work of *St. Ambrose* and *St. Augustin*; but some give it to *Nicetius*, ^a Bishop who lived in the Beginning of the sixth Century. The *Benedicite* is in *St. Jerom's* Translation of *Daniel*. It is also mentioned in the 4. Council of *Toledo* in 634.

^a Bishop *Sparrow*, in his *Rationale*, p. 19.

^b *Rationale*, p. 29.

^c The same in the same Place.

^d The same, p. 34.

People *are raised* to God with Joy: The same Situation is kept at the singing or saying the Creed, to shew how ready they are to make an open Profession of their Faith, to give an Account of it, to justify and defend it. Betwixt the Creed and the Lord's Prayer repeated a second time, the Priest says, *The Lord be with you.* The People answer, *and with your Spirit.* An excellent Proof of the Communion of Saints, who, being all Members of one mystical Body, pray for one another. We shall not trouble our Readers with the various Expositions of the *Oremus*, the short Litany, and the Responses; but we cannot omit, that the Collects are said to be so named because the Priest said them ^d when the whole Assembly was met, or because the Devotion of all the Faithful was *collected* or joined to offer that Prayer to ^e God, or because the Priest unites several Petitions into one ^f, or lastly, because it is a Collection of several short Sentences of Scripture.

THE Prayers, Collects and Lessons often vary, on some Days, as *Christmas*, *Epiphany*, &c. The *Athanasian* Creed is said or sung instead of that of the Apostles or of *Nice*. Sunday Morning, *Wednesday*, and *Friday*, the long Litany is said or sung. Particular Prayers are said likewise on special Occasions, as for Rain, for fair Weather, for a Time of Famine, or great Dearth, for success in War, against popular Comotions, epidemick or contagious Distempers; every Day also in Ember Weeks, for those who are to be ordained, for the Parliament whilst it sits; which Prayers are all either to obtain Mercy from God, or to give him Thanks for Favours received.

SUNDAY is a Day which all Christians keep with great Solemnity; but none more than the *English*; and upon considering the Gravity, Decency, Regularity, and outward Devotion, which is apparent throughout the Kingdom on that Day, one would be inclined to think, that it is a *Day of Light* ^g only to the *English*. In *Holland* it is prophaned by servile Works, even publicly, with the Leave of the Magistrates; in *France* Comedies and other publick Diversions are allowed; in other Countries open Disorders and Excesses are committed, and those of the blackest Dye in the Sight of God and Men. But in *England*, playing and singing Songs is forbid, even in private Families; and though some Persons of Distinction, as the Author of the ^h *Philosophical Letters* observes, take the Liberty to play, they keep it a Secret even from their Servants, for fear the Sight of Cards should be an Occasion of Scandal. As there is no Medium between praying, and working or playing, the two last being discountenanced, People accustom themselves to Piety, at least outwardly, though there is nothing in *England* like the Inquisition, by which, at *Geneva* ⁱ and other Places of *Switzerland*, People are forced to go to Church. The Presbyterians are remarkably rigid and severe Observers of the *Sunday*, and the exterior Sanctification of that Day is, they say, chiefly owing to them. Laws bring on habitual Actions, and those Habits often hinder those very Actions from being done with due Reflection, and raising our Thoughts to God; such is human Frailty; but after all, it must be owned, that there is an indispensable Necessity of Laws, of a settled Form of Govern-

^d *Super collectam populi.*

^e *Rationale*, p. 50.

^f *L'Estrange*, Alliance of divine Offices, p. 83.

^g Ecclesiastical History informs us, that heretofore the *Sunday* was called a *Day of Bread and of Light*, by reason of the two Sacraments, of Baptism and the Eucharist, administered on that Day. At least 'tis certain, the primitive Christians called Baptism *Light*, or *Illumination*.

^h Letter VI.

ⁱ At *Geneva* a Civil Magistrate, called *Auditor*, goes about the Town, and takes Notice of all he meets not going to the Sermon, and they are censured: But what follows? When they have been forced to appear religious, during the Time of publick Service on *Sundays*, that is no sooner over, but they give themselves up to their Pleasures lawful or unlawful.

ment in Church as well as State, of Leaders and Directors^k, as long as there are People to be governed, led and directed. There is a singular Scruple, much taken Notice of by Foreigners, which is, that most Criminals, condemned to Death, begin their Confession by owning, they have been wanting to the due Observance of the Lord's Day; "though they have killed their Father or Mother, *says an Author often cited in these Sheets*^l, still the first Article of their Confession is, breaking the Sabbath." (He and they mean the Sunday.) Yet, in spite of Laws, of Customs, of Scruples, which are a Consequence of not conforming to the two first, human Passions play their Parts in *England*, as well as in other Countries, and get the better of all three. The Sunday is kept holy, by publick and regular Devotions; but, says the same^m Author, they feast and eat well, and to Excess; they even get drunk, if they please, at home, on the same Sunday; and after edifying their Neighbours, by hearing a good Sermon, they nevertheless spend the Evening at Taverns, or in Houses of ill Repute.

As to Holidays, those Solemnities, which the rigid Puritans look upon as a superstitious Worship, have not been reformed according to the severe Model of *Calvin*. The *English* Calendar contains many Saints, besides the Apostles, the Evangelists, St. *Steven*, St. *John Baptist*, and St. *Barnaby*, who are thought, by some, to be the only Saints whose Feasts should be solemnized. The Prayers on those Days are adapted to the Subject, in suitable Collects, Lessons, and Meditations, and an Enumeration of the Virtues of the Saint of the Day. Yet Shops are open, and every one is at Liberty to follow his Occupation or Diversions, as usual. If the Practice is different at *Christmas*, *Easter*, &c. 'tis chiefly out of Custom, for Decency, and because, as 'tis pretended, most of the Faithful are willing to be Partakers of the Devotion of those Festivals. The Puritans hate the very Name of Feasts of Saints, as sounding like Idolatry; and when they are told, that nothing more is intended by that Denomination, only that such Lessons of Scripture are read on those Days, which bear the Name of such or such a Saint, without any Mixture of Superstition, they perty, and with some Colour of Reason, answer, that the common People do not take it so, but literally as the Words import: But to this it must be replied, that the People must be instructed to understand it as they ought; and that if this Reason was good, not only the Feasts of Saints must be suppressed, but most Part of religious Ceremonies, all the rhetorical and figurative Expressions of the inspired Authors, and the noble and sublime Descriptions of God, &c. lest the People, whose Notions are not very refined, but fixed on corporal or material Objects, should take them also literally.

SEVERAL of those Feasts are preceded by Vigils, to prepare the Faithful by Prayer and Fasting for the following Solemnity. The Puritans are not sparing of their Sarcasms on those Vigils and other Fasts of the Church of *England*. "One Day" is a Fast, *say they*, to mortify the Flesh, and tame or repel its furious Assaults, but "the next Day Amends are made with Usury, for what was taken from it the Day

^k As ill as we may think of the Clergy, they are necessary in a religious Society. They have usurped temporal Power, they have plaid the Tyrant, suppose it; but take away the Clergy, and see what will become of Religion. There are necessary Evils, which have ever been, and ever will be exclaimed against: Or rather, keep up the Clergy, expose their Faults, instruct the Laity. Some endeavour to prove, that the Clergy are not necessary, out of *Minucius Felix*, p. 262. Edit. in 8vo. *Ludg. Bat.* 1709. But what he says amounts to no more than finding Fault with the Heathen Priests, and saying the Empire of *Affrica* stood long, though they had no Priests. But how fared Religion? There he is silent.

^l *Memoires & Observat.* &c. p. 95.

^m *Memoires*, &c. p. 96.

“ before, and it becomes more rampant and rebellious to the Spirit than it was^a.” On the other Side, let us hear a Bishop of the Church of *England* enumerating the Advantages which are to be reaped from those Festivals. 1. They give a new Splendor, and enhance the Dignity of Religion. 2. *They are forcible Witnesses of ancient Truths.* 3. They excite the Faithful to Piety. 4. They are a Shadow and Fore-taste of the eternal Happiness we hope to enjoy in Heaven. 5. And teach us demonstratively, by all our Senses, what we are to believe and practise. “ All our “ Holidays, *says the same Bishop*, are referr’d to one only Head, who is Jesus Christ, “ &c. And for this Reason our ecclesiastical Year begins at the glorious Annuncia- “ tion of his Birth (made to the Blessed Virgin) . . . And as Jesus Christ . . . “ has likewise manifested his Greatness and high Dignity in his Saints; as the Day “ of their going out of this World ought to be as much celebrated in the Christian “ Church, as the Birth or Coronation of Emperors or Kings of this World; some “ have been so far distinguished as yearly to solemnize their Festivals, in order to imi- “ tate their Example, and glorify Jesus Christ in their Persons. Thus in him we “ consider the Martyrdom of the holy Innocents, who suffered Death for his sake, “ even before they had attained to an Age fit to know him. We commemorate on “ the same Account the Death of St. *Steven*, who, knowing Christ, suffered for “ him, and had the Happiness, even whilst alive, to see *the Heavens opened, and the “ Glory of God*; the Preaching of St. *John the Baptist*, who was the Forerunner of “ Christ, and a second *Elias*; the Feast of St. *Michael* and all the holy Angels, and “ that of All-Saints and happy Souls, to give due Glory to God.”

AFTER these Remarks, which we thought necessary; as also to observe, that in *England* the Year begins on the twenty-fifth of *March*^a, which is thought to be the Day of the Incarnation of the *Word*, we shall present our Readers with a Table of all Feasts, Vigils, Fasts, and Days of Abstinence, observed in the Church of *England*, throughout the Year; and then give an Account of the Customs peculiar to certain Festivals.

FEASTS.

THE four *Sundays* of Advent, and all *Sundays* in the Year. The Nativity of Jesus Christ. St. *Stephen*’s Martyrdom. St. *John the Evangelist*. Holy Innocents. The Circumcision of our Lord; which is also called New-Year’s Day. The Epiphany. Conversion of St. *Paul*. King *Charles* the First his Martyrdom. Purification of the blessed Virgin. St. *Matthias the Apostle*. Annunciation of the blessed Virgin. *Easter Sunday*, *Monday*, and *Tuesday*. St. *Mark* the Evangelist. St. *Philip* and *James* the Apostles. The Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Birth and Restoration of King *Charles* the Second. *Whitsunday*, *Monday*, and *Tuesday*. St. *Barnabas*. The Nativity of St. *John the Baptist*. St. *Peter* the Apostle. St. *James* the Apostle. St. *Bartolomew* the Apostle. St. *Matthew* the Apostle. St. *Michael* and all Angels. St. *Luke* the Evangelist. St. *Simon* and *Jude* the Apostles. All Saints. Gunpowder. Treason. St. *Andrew* the Apostle. St. *Thomas* the Apostle.

^a *Hodie jejunant ad domandam cornis ferociam, ut ajunt, cras quod à carne detraxerant reddunt, & eandem ferociorem quam prius efficiunt.* See hereafter two other notable Passages on Feasts.

^b Bishop *Sparrow*, in his *Rationale*, p. 66.

^c This and other Passages of *English* Authors are translated out of the *French*, we not having the *English* Books by us.

^d See *Memoires*, &c. and in this Work above, the Inconveniences arising from that Custom.

VIGILS.

THE Days before the Nativity of Christ; Purification; St. *Matthias*; Annunciation; *Easter*; Ascension; *Whitsunday*; Nativity of St. *John the Baptist*; St. *Peter*; St. *James*; St. *Bartholomew*; St. *Matthew*; St. *Simon and Jude*, All-Saints; St. *Andrew*; St. *Thomas*.

Other Days of FASTING or ABSTINENCE.

I. THE forty Days of Lent.

II. THE Ember-Days, being the *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday* after

- { The first Sunday in Lent.
- { The Feast of *Pentecost*, or *Whitsunday*.
- { The 14th of *September*.
- { The 13th of *December*.

III. THE three Rogation Days, being the *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday* before Holy *Thursday*, or the Ascension.

IV. ALL *Fridays* in the Year, except *Christmas Day*.

ADVENT is so called, says Bishop *Sparrow*, whom we have so often cited, because it is a Time of Preparation, to celebrate the Commemoration of Christ's Coming in the *Flesh*. "The *Sundays* of *Advent* are to the Feast of *Christmas*, what "St. *John the Baptist* is to our blessed Saviour." Another Author says, that many Predictions foretold the Incarnation of Christ, which his Church has thought fit to commemorate by the four *Sundays* of *Advent*, which "are as so many *Heralds* to proclaim the approaching of the Feast."

THE Antiquity of the Feast of *Christmas* is uncertain, according to the Criticks; but 'tis generally thought it was not fixed to the 25th of *December* till about the Year 500. That Festival, as the *English* keep it, is a Medley of Devotion and Diversions, which last till the *Epiphany*, or *Twelfth Day*. In *France* Presents are given only on *New-Year's Day*, in *England* that Custom begins at *Christmas*, when even those who keep Taverns, or other Publick Houses, give gratis to their Customers Part of what they eat or drink in their Houses, on that and the following Holidays. They require the Wine to be paid for, but the Victuals are given, especially Bread and Cheese¹, dressed in such a Way as invites agreeably both Clergy and Laity to drink many Bumpers of heavy *Port* or *Xeres Wines*. "In private Families, says the Author of *Memoires & Observations*, &c. 'a famous Pie is made, which from the Festival borrows its Name of *Christmas Pie*; an artful Composition, and elegant Jumble or Hash of Neat's Tongues, white Meat, Eggs, Sugar, Currants, Lemmon-Peal, and other Sweetmeats, Spices, Wine, &c. &c."

THE Feasts of St. *Steven*, St. *John*, and the Holy Innocents, which immediately follow *Christmas Day*, bring to Mind a Passage of an old Author on those Holidays which are so close to one another. "Festivals come on apace; the Servant is honoured immediately after his Master's *Theophany*." That Name, which signifies

¹ *L'Estrange*, Chap. v. p. 134.

² Toasted Bread and Cheese.

³ Page 322.

the *Appearing* or *Manifestation* of God, was heretofore given to the Nativity of our Lord. But why are those Holidays observed immediately after it? 'Tis owned, the Holy Innocents ought to be commemorated very near *Christmas*; why St. *Stephen*, whose Martyrdom is believed to have happened about *August*? Why St. *John*? An ingenious *Mystagogical* Author has happily found out some Reasons, upon which that Practice may have been grounded. " Those three Solemnities represent to us three sorts of Martyrdom. The first in Will and Deed, St. *Stephen's*; the second in Will, but not in Deed, St. *John the Apostle's*"; the third in Deed, but not in Will, of the Innocents;" who in that tender Age could not know either him for whose Sake they were put to Death, or the Merit of suffering Martyrdom. What a noble Discovery, how full of spiritual Comfort! An *English* Divine gives other Reasons, which may have their Weight: " St. *Stephen*, says he, follows Jesus Christ, that is his Nativity, because he was the first Martyr. St. *John* the Evangelist comes next, because his Feast could not be kept the Day on which he died, which is the Birth of St. *John the Baptist*." All agree, that the Feast of the Holy Innocents is in its proper Place. Such particular and minute Circumstances are not wholly useless, they are, if not instructive, at least diverting to our Readers; however they certainly will appear new to most of them.

WHAT we have to say about the Circumcision of our Lord, or New-Year's-Day, is only, that the first Name was not given to it, till the eleventh Age; though, above four hundred Years before, it is mentioned, by several Ecclesiastical Authors, as being the *Octave of the Nativity*; and the Reason why it was not kept sooner is, because it occurs on the same Day with the Feast of the New Year, which was celebrated by the Heathens, in all sorts of Excesses and Profanations; on which Account* the sixth General Council expressly forbid the keeping of that Feast, which St. *Chrysostome* had called a *Diabolical Feast* above two hundred Years before. We must own nevertheless, that it being still the first Day of the new Year, even Christians prophane it, by some Disorders borrowed from Paganism, and like the Heathens begin the Year, with a Renewal of Vices and Lewdness. But as this Subject is proper for the Pulpit, so we leave it, and shall only take Notice, that good Wishes, Presents, Feasting were in Use amongst the *Romans*, as well as they now are with us; they also began the Year with Prayers† and Sacrifices. Moreover they were very careful to do some Work on that Day, superstitiously believing, as some Christians do still, that the giving then any Proof of Cunning or Industry was a good Omen for the whole subsequent Year.

THE *Epiphany*, which is also called *Twelfth Day*, reckoning from *Christmas* Day, is kept on the 6th of *January*. By ancient Custom the Kings of *England* offer at the Altar Gold in one Purse, Mirrh in another, and Frankincense in a third, on that Day and on New-Year's-Day. They offer likewise a Piece of Gold at *Christmas*,

* *Durandus* in *Rational*. This Author and several others, invent wittily mystical Reasons of the Customs and Ceremonies of the Church.

† 'Tis recorded in ecclesiastical History that he was thrown into boiling Oil, and came out of it safe and sound.

‡ Bishop *Sparrow* in his *Rationale* &c. p. 78. thought those Reasons so strong, that he alledged them, without doing to *Durandus* the Justice of citing him.

γ Who told him so! a very uncertain historical Tradition. But let it be granted, could not his Feast have been assigned to the 26 or 27 of *June* as well as to the 27 of *December*? No, says our Author, " no Day could be assigned to this *John* (the beloved Disciple) more proper than he might be nigh his Master &c."

δ *L'Esrange Alliance* &c. p. 138.

ε See *Ovid*, Lib. 1. ver. 75. *Fest.* on *Jan.* 1.

Candlemas, Easter, Pentecost, on Trinity Sunday, and the Feasts of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and All-Saints. A French Writer ^b is very severe on the Custom of the King of the *Bean*, and pretends it is derived from the Heathen Solemnity called *Saturnalia*, and so far is true, that then a King was chosen by Lot, as is now done; this is evident by what *Tacitus* ^c relates.

By *St. Paul's* Conversion, a furious Wolf is changed into a meek Lamb; this is a Miracle of God's infinitely powerful Grace; 'tis wonderful in itself, and in the foregoing Apparition: We are taught by this Example, that the greatest Sinners ought never to despair of finding Mercy, and being reconciled to God. The Church therefore justly celebrates this Feast as a publick Acknowledgment of this Truth, and for so miraculous a Conversion ^d.

THE Feast, or rather Fast, appointed by the Church of *England*, in Memory of *Charles* the First, is a publick Reparation of the scandalous spilling of that unhappy Prince's Blood by his own Subjects, who pretended to judge him, and actually condemned him, and executed their barbarous Sentence. An incredible and unheard of Crime, as a French Poet deservedly calls it ^e! Which however must not be charged upon the whole Nation, but chiefly, if not solely, upon the most audacious of all Traitors, who boldly usurped, after this Murther, a more despotick and dangerous Authority than that which had been overthrown. There is a peculiar Form of Prayers, Lessons and Collects, suitable to the Occasion, set down for that Solemnity, in which *Charles* is called a *Martyr*. It is kept on the 30th of *January*; or if that falls on a *Sunday*, it is deferr'd to the *Monday* following.

CANDLEMAS, or the *Purification* of the blessed Virgin, is so well known, that we need not enlarge upon it. But it furnishes us with an Opportunity of introducing the Ceremony of the *Churching of Women*, which is a kind of Purification, and, according to the Presbyterians, a Remnant of false Judaical Zeal ^f. Women, after their Lying-in, come to Church modestly clad, with their Faces covered ^g: What! say the same Enemies of, and Carpers at, all the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, is it out of Shame they hide themselves, as if they had committed a Crime of Impurity? 'Tis answered, that this is done out of Modesty, and is very decent; whereas it would be wrong if it was done after Lying-in by an unlawful Commerce. However, they kneel at the Choir Door, or near the Communion Table, and in that Posture recite with the Priest a Psalm agreeable to their Circumstances; the Priest blesses them, and recommends them to Almighty God by Prayer: Thanks are rendered to the Lord, and an Offering made. But, say still the Presbyterians, why such solemn Thanksgiving on this Occasion ^h? Is a Lying-in of a more dangerous Nature than Fire, Water, other Sickness, and so many perillous Hazards we are daily exposed to? For many Reasons deduced in an *English* Book ⁱ which shews, that God himself has taken particular Notice of this State of Lying-in Women; that being with Child is accompanied with many Infirmities and Sufferings, not ex-

^b See *Pasquier* in his *Recherches*, and *Marville* Tom. III. of his *Melanges* pag. 467. Edit. of 1725. who mentions also after *Belet* and *Durand*, another Custom borrowed from the *Saturnals*. "The Bishop, Canons, and inferior Clergy, meet in the Cloysters of their Churches, and there Play, Dance, and sing &c."

^c *Tacitus*, Annal. Lib. XIII.

^d *Sparrow*, p. 147.

^e *Benjérade*, in a Ballad.

^f *Calderwood*, p. 651.

^g The covering of the Face is now left off.

^h *Calderwood*, p. 651.

ⁱ *L'Estrange*, p. 326.

pected to proceed from such Preliminaries; that being brought to Bed is not without great Pains and Danger, nor the Lying-in without Fatigue, Care and Labour. Such are the dismal Consequences of original Sin. Add to this the Anxiety of Mind, the numberless Pains to be taken in the feeding, bringing up, and instructing Children in their Duty: Which made a Poet^k say, though somewhat prophanely, that *it is not worth the Trouble to be born*. But God may change those Thorns into Roses, and therefore it is just, and even necessary, to give him Thanks for a safe Delivery, and beg his Help for the good Education of Children, before the whole Church, and in a solemn Manner.

THE *Englisch* keep Lent; but either do not, or even will not, know the disorderly Recreations of the *Carnival*. We need not mention in this Place the Antiquity of Lent, or its Value, that it is an humble Imitation of the Fast of Jesus Christ, and an excellent Preparation to the Communion of *Easter*, which therefore no Christian should neglect: The mystical Signification of it is, that as Christ's Sufferings in this World ended, and he entered into his Glory at *Easter*^l, the Church has also thought fit to appoint our spiritual Afflictions, and Works of Repentance, should likewise end at that Festival. Several other such typical Expositions of that Practice, and equally well grounded, might be, and have been, by divers Authors alledged, concerning the Fast of Lent; one shall suffice for the present. Lent is an Emblem of the Storms, Persecutions and Troubles we meet with in this Life. *Easter* is a Figure of the eternal Repose and Happiness we hope to enjoy in Heaven. Now if any one should wonder that a Fast instituted in Imitation of that of Christ should not be kept at the same Time in which he fasted, which was about the *Epiphany*; one Reason of it, besides many others which might be assigned, is, that our Time of fasting is fixed to the Beginning of Spring, a Time when there is a general Revolution of Humours in human Bodies, when our Blood ferments, our Passions are stirred up, and the Flesh is apt to rebel against the Spirit: These Difficulties are best overcome by Fasting and Prayer: Therefore, says St. *Jerom*, as cited by *Sparrow* in his *Rationale on the Common Prayer*, the Time in which we fast is the most convenient.

THIS prodigious Change which is perceived in Spring, not only in human Bodies, but likewise in all sublunary Beings, introduces very patly a small Digression concerning a ludicrous Ceremony observed on the Eve of St. *Valentine's* Day, mentioned in the *Englisch* Calendar *February* the 14th. "Young People of both Sexes, says the "Author of *Memoires & Observations*, &c.^m celebrate, by an ancient Custom in "England and Scotland, a small kind of Festival, (whichⁿ is a Representation of the "Revival of Nature, and of that *inborn* Desire of all Animals to encrease and multiply their own Species.) An equal Number of each Sex meet, every one writes "their own or borrowed Names on a separate Piece of Paper, they roll up those "Papers, and the Boys take by Lot one of the Girls Names, and the Girls take in "the same Manner one of the Boys Names, so that each young Woman has a young "Man whom she calls her *Valentine*, and each young Man has also a young Woman whom he likewise calls his *Valentine*; it often happens, that each has two "*Valentines*, viz. the Person whose Name they have drawn, and that which has "drawn their Name. The whole Company being thus coupled, the young Men

^k *Regnier Des marais*. See likewise *Manilius*, Lib. IV. *Astron*: But a serious Divine will think all those Sayings are prophane.

^l *Sparrow* in his *Rationale*, p. 92.

^m *Memoires & Observations faites par un Voyageur*, p. 410.

ⁿ The Words within the *Parenthesis* are not of the Author we cite:

“ give Balls and Treats to their *Valentines*, and wear their Names pinn'd either to
 “ their Sleaves, or near their Heart These Ceremonies vary in the different
 “ Provinces, or accordingly as the young Ladies require more or less from their
 “ Valentines. There is another sort of *Valentines*, that is, the first Woman or Girl
 “ which a Man or Boy meets by chance in the Street, or elsewhere on the Day of
 “ the Fast.”

ON the first Day of Lent^o, or *Ashwednesday*, the *English* Liturgy appoints the
 Commination to be read, that is, a publick *Denunciation* or Threatning of God's
 Judgments upon Sinners. After the Morning Prayer, and the saying or singing of
 the Litany, as usual, the Priest says, “ Brethren, in the primitive Church there was
 “ a godly Discipline, that at the Beginning of Lent, such Persons as stood convicted
 “ of notorious Sins, were put to open Penance, and punished in this World, that
 “ their Souls might be saved in the Day of the Lord; and that others, admonished
 “ by their Example, might be the more afraid to offend. Instead whereof, (until
 “ the said Discipline may be restored again^r, which is much to be wished) it is
 “ thought good, that at this time, and in the Presence of you all, should be read
 “ the general Sentences of God's Cursing against impenitent Sinners, &c.” This
 short Preface being pronounced by the Priest at the reading Pew, the Curses are re-
 cited aloud, at each of which the whole Congregation says *Amen*. Then the Priest
 exhorts the People to Repentance, and recites some Prayers. A Presbyterian Writer,
 considering that the Curses are read in the Pulpit, and the Litanies and Prayers at the
 Reading-Pew, fancies that this is done in Imitation of the Order given to *Moses*
 by God, to pronounce the Blessings on Mount *Gerizim*^q, and the Curses on Mount
Hebal: But this Conjecture has no Foundation, for as an Author of the Church of
England relates the Affair, there is no mysterious Meaning in that Custom which
 was introduced, as we may say, by meer Chance, and the Reason of it unknown^r to
 most People.

THE Mention of Lent requires our giving an Account of the *Ember Weeks*. The
 Reader, by what has been said, knows at what Times they are kept, and for what
 Reason^r; as to their *English* Name of *Ember Weeks*, it was given to them, “ because
 “ our Forefathers, says *Bacon*, as cited by *Sparrow*, did eat on those Days Cakes
 “ baked under the Ashes or Embers, to put them in Mind, that they themselves
 “ were but Dust and Ashes.

AGAIN, the Account we have given of the *Commination* obliges us not to forget
 the various Sorts of *Excommunications* made use of in the Church of *England*. The
lesser cuts off from the Communion, those who being duly cited, neglect to give in
 their Appearance before the Ecclesiastical Courts. This Power of Excommunication
 may be delegated by the Bishop to any Priest of the Church of *England*, joined to
 the Chancellor of the Diocese, who is the first Official of the Bishop. The *greater*
 Excommunication not only deprives of the Communion, but likewise of the civil
 Rights of suing, or being sued in any Court, Civil or Ecclesiastical: And if they
 who are subjected to it, remain obstinate during the Space of forty Days, the Court

* This Day is called *Caput jejunii* by ancient Writers. It is also named *Ashwednesday*, from the Ceremony of putting Ashes on the Head of the Faithful, to put them in mind of Mortality, &c. See *Sparrow*, p. 93.

^p See *Sparrow*, p. 233.

^q *Calderwood* Chap. X. p. 524.

^r *L'Estrange*, Chap. XI. There was, says he, no reading Pew, till 1603, which was since introduced, that the Prayers might be easier heard by the Congregation in large Churches.

^s See Vol. II. of this Work, about the *Ceremonies of Jews and Catholics*.

of Chancery issues out a Writ to feize and put in Prison the excommunicated Person. The Bishop only can inflict the *greater* Excommunication, but he does not, or ought not, except on those who are convicted of the greatest Crimes, as Heresy, Adultery, Incest, &c. The *Anathema* is the most dreadful of all, as it declares those who are under it, to be Enemies of God, and delivered up to everlasting Perdition. This likewise is done by the Bishop, in the Presence of the Dean and Chapter, or of twelve other Ministers. None of those *Censures* are pronounced in publick, nor the Absolution from them, but in the Bishop's Court.

ON *Maundy Thursday*, anciently known, at least in the Western Churches, and still called at *Rome* by the Name of *Cena Domini*, the Kings of *England* distribute Alms to as many poor People as they are Years old. They are brought into the banqueting House at *Whitehall*, where a Table is set out, and each of them has a Dish of Fish, six small Loaves of Bread, one Bottle of Wine, some Beer, Cloth for a suit of Clothes, or a Gown, Linnen for two Shirts, Stockings, Shoes, and two small Purfes of red Leather, one of which contains as many small Pieces of Silver, the other as many Shillings, as the King is Years old. Heretofore the Feet of those poor People were washed, and if the King did not perform himself that humble Ceremony, by which some other Monarchs in Catholick Countries proudly imitate that Pattern of Humility set by Christ, the *Grand Almoner* was appointed to do it, as he now distributes to them the fore-mentioned Gifts.

THE Account of one Ceremony draws on that of another, so we shall introduce in this Place the Custom of Curing the King's Evil, which the Kings and Queens of *England* have practised, though the *French* Authors pretend, the Kings of *France* only have that Power. The high Dignity of Kings raises them much above the rest of Mankind; yet as we unhappily find by Experience, that they are not always endowed with the heavenly Virtues which ought to shine in their whole Conduct, it is somewhat strange they should pretend to one of the greatest of the Divine Prerogatives, that of working Miracles, or curing Distempers by a supernatural Power. Accordingly this wonderful Privilege is generally attributed to their Coronation, and not to their Person. However the Protestants cry it down, and there are but few Christians in this Age, of any Communion, who give more Credit to those Cures, or believe them more real, than such as ancient Authors have asserted to have been performed by the Hand or Foot of *Vespasian*, or by *Pyrrhus's* great Toe, which was said to cure those whose Spleen was distemper'd. This Gift of curing the King's Evil has likewise been allowed to the Kings of *Arragon*; and *Favin*^u thinks it belongs also to the Kings of *Navarre*. We find moreover that the Kings of *England* cured the Leprosy; that the Kings of *Spain* and Princes of the House of *Austria* could cast out the Devil; make those speak plain who used to stutter; and heal those who were *Throat-bursten*. *Du May*^v, who relates those Prodigies, says, the whole was done without much Ceremony. To take off the Wen under the Throat, they only give, with their own Hand, to the Patient a Glass of Water; and kiss the Stammerer, to loosen his Tongue. Be that as it will, the following Account of the Kings

ⁱ See *Tacitus*, *Histor. Lib. IV.*

^u *Hist. of Navarre*. We find also in *Marville's Melange's, Et. Tem.* 3. p. 205. Edit. of 1725. that at *Dalat*, a Village in *Auvergne*, "there is a Confraternity of the blessed Sacrament, in which they yearly chuse a Child to be the King. The Father of him fasts on certain Days every Week from *Easter* to the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, and does some other good Works; on that Feast, the Father goes to his Devotions, and the Son touches for the Evil. But this Custom is now left off."

^v *Etat de l'Empire d'Allemagne*.

of *England* curing the King's Evil is given by the Author of *Memoires & Observations, &c.* * " King *Edward* the Confessor, says he, who was canonised by *Alexander* the Third, was the first who pretended † to cure the King's Evil, by touching those who were afflicted with it This Opinion was held, probably without any Intermission, till the Reign of *William* the Third The *English* had, and may still have, great Faith in this Anodyne Remedy. Towards the End of King *James* the Second's Reign a great Number came from all Parts of the Kingdom in order to be touched. The King hearing of it, was so good as to say he would perform that Ceremony oftner, and to set the Days on which he was to touch. I was present at the last. His Majesty was seated in an Arm Chair, raised two or three Steps in one of the Rooms at *Whitehall*. Father *Peters* in a Band and long Cloak stood at his Right-Hand. Some Prayers being first said, the Yeomen of the Guard made the sick, or pretending to be so, file off one by one (the Author says in the Margin that there were about three hundred) through a narrow Passage raised in, which led to the King. Each sick Person knelt in his Turn before the King, who with both his Hands stretch'd out, touched their Checks. The Jesuit, at the same Time, put upon their Neck a String of white Tape, to which hung a gold Medal, and said some Words, equivalent, I suppose, to those said in *France*, *The King touches, let God heal you*. This was done in an Instant, and to prevent the same Person from coming twice, and getting another Medal ‡ by that Cheat, other Guards led them away and watched them till the Ceremony was over. When the King was tired with stretching out his Arms, and touching their Cheek or Chin, Father *Peters* presented only the String to be touched by his Majesty; in which Case the healing Power passed from the Hand to the String, from the String to the Clothes, from the Clothes to the Skin, and from thence to the Root of the Evil. Those who had been touched, and were really diseased were put into the Hands of Physicians; those who only came for the Medal wanted no Remedies."

GOOD FRIDAY is appointed, in the *English* Liturgy, as a Fast, to be kept most strictly, for the Love of *Jesus Christ*, crucify'd on that Day. The following *Saturday* is likewise a Day of Humiliation and Abstinence. The Devotion of *Easter* Day brings with it great Comfort to the Faithful, and even Joy. The Gospel, the Epistle, Collects, and Anthems contain all the Motives which ought to inspire with it a true Member of the Church of *England*, which desires, says *Sparrow* §, that the Faithful after the Tears and Fasts of *Good Friday* and *Easter* Eve for the Death of our Saviour, should be refreshed on that Festival, and filled with Joy. The same Author tells us, that *Monday* and *Tuesday* are joined to *Easter Sunday*, as Part of that Solemnity, and in order to its being kept with more Splendor: He adds, that it was heretofore called the *Queen of Feasts*; and the Passage which he cites out of *St. Ambrose* seems to mean, that all the Time betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* ought to be a continual Feast. This must not be understood so literally as to conclude, that it ought to be spent in Mirth and Diversion: True Christians are all well apprised that there are two Sorts of Joy: But we cannot help finding Fault with a Passage of *Tertullian*, cited by *Sparrow* in the same Place, as being very insignificant, viz. *That all the Feasts of*

* P. 116.

† It should be, *who they pretend has cured*.

‡ Each Medal, says the Author, is worth about two Crowns, or ten Shillings, it was then called an *Angel*. King *William* the Third converted to other pious Uses the Fund settled for those Medals.

§ *Rationale*, p. 105.

the Heathens put together did not come up to that of *Easter*, that great and solemn Festival of the Christians. All that this Bombast amounts to is only, that *Worship paid to the Devil, is not so good as that which is paid to God*. How can this be seriously said to prejudiced or obstinate Heathens, who to be sure would never grant that they worshipped the Devil? The same Bishop *Sparrow*^b takes Notice, that in the fifty Days of Joy, from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*, the Faithful are not to kneel, that Posture denoting Affliction; but must pray standing, as on *Sundays*, to shew their Joy. The Ancients have handed down to us many such important Reflections. But it will appear more essential, to such of our Readers, who are desirous to know the true Reasons of Church Ceremonies, to let them know, that the Time of giving Baptism to those of riper Years, (which in the Primitive Church was very common, by Reason of the numerous Conversions from Paganism to Christianity) being fixed to the Eves of *Easter* and *Pentecost*, those Feasts and the following Days were spent by the Faithful in Joy, in Prayers, and Thanksgivings, and the newly baptized all that Time came to Church in white^c Clothes, lighted Tapers being carried before them. In subsequent Ages, few were baptized, except Infants, but the above-mentioned Solemnities were still kept up, though the Occasion had in some Measure ceased.

By the wording of the Collect for the third *Sunday* after *Easter*, in which God's Grace is desired for those who are admitted into the Fellowship of Christ's Religion, &c. The Church of *England* seems to commemorate that ancient Custom of Baptism; whereas the Collect for the fifth *Sunday* is a Preparation towards receiving the Comforts of the Holy Ghost: This *Sunday* is called *Rogation Sunday* in the Church of *England*, by reason of the three following Days, in which some fast; though it be not expressly commanded in their Church. The Litanies and Prayers said on those Rogation Days are to draw down God's Blessing on the Fruits of the Earth. A great Enemy to all the religious Customs of the Church of *England*^d relates a Fact which we cannot say is generally true, viz. that in the Country they go in Procession about the Fields, not with so much Ceremony as is done in Catholick Countries, yet in such a Manner, that this Author calls it a *Remainder of Popery and Paganism*. The Church of *England*, says he, makes a *Lustration* or *Purification* of their Fields, by singing Psalms, the great Litany, and suitable Prayers. The Priest, who goes at the Head of the Procession, is accompanied, as with the Catholicks, by a great Throng of Country People, and other devout Persons, who either out of Zeal, or out of the Interest they have in a good Crop, are willing to take Part in this *Country Devotion*.

WE shall say nothing of the Ascension, only that, according to *Sparrow*^e, the Collects, Prayers and Lessons are excellently adapted to the Subject, and include many Figures and Allegories^f on which we must repeat what has been said before^g in this Work (without thinking ourselves wanting in the profound Respect due to our sacred Religion) that if the *Indians* were to judge of our Understanding by our typical and mystical Expressions, they would think some of our Notions as absurd as we take theirs to be; because we are resolved to take in a literal Sense what they would certainly pretend is only said allegorically of their Gods, their familiar Spirits, or other pretended Mysteries of their Religion.

^b *Rationale*, p. 111. and 113.

^c The *Sunday* which we call *Low Sunday* in Opposition to *Easter Sunday*, which is the *High or Great Sunday*, called in *Latin*, *Dominica in Albis*, because those white Clothes were left off on that Day.

^d *Calderwood*, above-cited, p. 523.

^e *Rationale*, p. 125.

^f The same, p. 120, and following.

^g Vol. I. towards the End of the Supplement in the second Part.

THE *Sunday* after the Ascension, and the following Days, are called *Expectation Week*, because the Apostles expected the fulfilling of our Lord's Promise, to send them a Comforter. The Day of Pentecost is called *Whitsunday*; either from *white*, because the new baptized wore white Garments, as an Emblem of that heavenly Light which the Holy Ghost infuses into the Hearts of the Faithful; or rather as *L'Estrange* explains it Chap. v. p. 146. from the *French Word huit*, corruptly pronounced, because that is the eighth *Sunday* after *Easter*.

THE 23d of *April* is the Feast of St. *George* the Martyr, (who was honoured in Catholick Times as Patron of *England*) and is remarkable for the Procession of the Knights of the *Garter*. We must therefore give our Readers some Account of that Order. The Origin of it is too well known to need any further Mention of it, we shall only relate what is said of that Knighthood, by the Author of ^h *Memoires & Observations*, &c." "*Edward* the Third was the Founder of it, he put it under " the Protection of St. *George* Patron of *England*. The Number of Knights is fixed " to twenty five, reckoning the King, or Sovereign, for one. They wear from the " left Shoulder to the right Side a large, deep blue Ribband, to which hangs the " Figure of St. *George* fighting with the Dragon; the Garter is wore on the left " Leg under the Knee, and has these Words embroïdered on it: *Honi soit qui mal* " *y pense* The Chapter of the Order is usually held at *Windſor*, and the " Knights are installed in the Chapel belonging to that Castle That Dignity " is conferr'd on those of the prime Nobility. Yet if any private Gentleman becomes " illustrious by some great Achievements, or is in high Favour with the King, he " may, without being made a Peer of the Realm, have that Title bestowed upon " him When the King makes a Knight, the Person to be made kneels, " the Prince touches his left Shoulder with a naked Sword, and says, or rather used " heretofore to say to him, *Be a Knight, in the Name of God. Advance, Knight.*" We must take Notice by the by, as the same Author does, *that the Word Noble is used in a much more limited Sense in England, than in France*; the Proofs of which may be seen in his Book under the Title *Nobility*; as also on the Difference between *Knight Baronet*, *Knight Banneret*, *Knight Batchelor*, and *Esquires*, under the Title *Knights*. There is also a much inferior Class of Knights, called *Knights of the Bath*, instituted by *Henry* the Fourth, and are forty six in Number. They were called of the *Bath*, because the Eve before their Admission they put on the Habit of an Hermit, watch'd all Night, and bathed themselves. This Order was extinct, but King *George* the First renewed it, and raised it to a much higher Rank than it used to be. The Ribband which they wear is red.

THE greatest Exploit attributed to St. *George*, Patron of *England*, and his most valiant Deed, is his overcoming the *Dragon*. The *English* Legends, which are as numerous, as voluminous, and as full of extraordinary Events, as those of any other Nation, give an Account of this Saint, of which the Author of *Memoires*, &c.ⁱ has made an Abstract: Even that is too long to be inserted in this Place, and we should, no doubt, spoil it if we pretended to abridge it. No Romance equals it; and we may boldly say, that the Dragon, which next to St. *George*, is the Hero of it, excels by far all the Dragons, which have made any Figure in ancient Chronicles, either Christian, or Heathen. Some Dragons have been mentioned in *France*, but they were more easily defeated, and with less Ceremony, than was required to overcome

^h P. 54. and following.

ⁱ P. 214. and following.

this *Lybian*^k Dragon, or any other killed in *Greece*, or in the East. *St. Romanus*, for Example, from whom the Archbishops of *Roan* in *Normandy* have received the Privilege known there by the Name of the *Fierte*, made Use only of his Stole, to get the better of the Dragon which infested^l the Country adjacent. The Saint put it about the Serpent's Neck, ordered a Malefactor condemned to Death, whom he had taken as a Witness of that bold Undertaking, to lead it into the Town, where it was burnt in the Presence of all the Inhabitants. The Dragon's Death saved the Criminal's Life, who obtained a Pardon: And in Order to keep up the Memory of this Deliverance, every Year on Ascension Day a Criminal, condemned to Death for what Crime soever, is delivered, on Condition that he lends a helping Hand to carry in Procession the Shrine, which they call the *Fierte*^m of *St. Romanus*. The Particulars of this Ceremony may be seen in the following Noteⁿ.

TRINITY

^k The *English Legend* says, this Victory was obtained by *St. George* in *Lybia*.

^l Known by the Name of *Gargouille*.

^m *Fierte*, from the Latin Word *Feretrum*, a Coffin.

ⁿ An old Book, which is very scarce; printed at *Paris* 1611, under the Title of *Plaidoyers & Repenses concernant le Privilege de la Fierte Saint Romain*, gives the following Account, p. 20, and following. " *St. Owen*, Chancellor of *France*, succeeded *St. Romanus* in the See of *Roan*, and to perpetuate the Remembrance of this miraculous Deliverance (from the Dragon) and put the Faithful in Mind yearly to renew their Acknowledgments for so great a Benefit, by Prayers and Thanksgivings, obtained of King *Dagobert*, in favour of the Archbishop, Dean, Canons, and Chapter of *Roan*, Leave and Power to chuse yearly in their Chapter, on the Day of the Ascension of our Lord, what Prisoner soever, and for whatsoever Cause he might be detained, and to deliver him from Goal, and obtain his being intirely acquitted, and never prosecuted for any Crime committed before. This Privilege has often been confirmed by the Kings of *France*, and has been enjoy'd by the Archbishop, Dean, Canons, and Chapter of *Roan*, fully, peaceably, and without any Opposition. Since not one Year passed without their delivering a Criminal out of Prison (p. 21.) except in Cases of High Treason: And as no Prisoner had been delivered by them, whilst *Richard* King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy* was himself detained, they got Leave to set two at Liberty the Year following. So inviolably has that Privilege been kept, that no Accident whatever could interrupt this Prerogative of the Chapter, not even the Captivity of a King, who was their Duke and Lord (p. 25.) The Criminal is always delivered in publick; in the Presence of all the Town, and with great Solemnity. Thirteen Days before the Feast of the Ascension, four Canons and four Chaplains wearing their Surplices and Amisse, their Usher, or Verger, going before them, proceed to the Great Chamber of the Parliament, and to the Bailiff's Court, and Court of Aids, where they summon and charge the King's Officers to stop, and cause to be stop'd, all further Proceedings against any Criminals detained in the King's Prisons, till their Privilege has had its full Effect. On Rogation Monday two Canons in Pristly Orders go to the Prisons, accompanied by two Chaplains, the Verger of the Chapter, and a Notary, who is also a Priest; they receive there the Depositions of those who lay claim to partake in the Privilege; this they are employ'd in till the Day of the Ascension; on which the Prisoners are re-examined, and asked whether they persist in their Confessions, or have a mind to add any thing to them: This being done, about seven in the Morning of the same Day, all the Canons who are Priests meet in the Chapter-House, call on the Holy Ghost to direct them in their Choice, and solemnly swear, that they will not reveal any Part of the Depositions of the Criminals The Depositions are read, they pitch upon the Prisoner to be delivered, write his Name on a Paper sealed with the Chapter's Seal, and send it by a Chaplain in his Surplice and Amisse to the Parliament, which is met to expect their Nomination, and having received it, form a Decree, which orders, that the Prisoner chose by the Chapter shall be delivered up, to enjoy the Privilege of *St. Romanus's* Shrine, he and his Accomplices they are accordingly set free and out of Prison, the Depositions of all the other Criminals are burnt upon an Altar in Sight of all the People. Then the Procession begins, in which the Dragon, under *St. Romanus's* Feet, is carried on a long Pole (P. 36. of the *Defence de la Fierte*.) The Shrine of the Saint is also carried. The Prisoner newly delivered, bare-headed, bears the first Supporter; and those who have been set at Liberty the seven preceding Years help to carry it, each holding a lighted Taper in his Hand. The Procession ended, Mass begins, during which the Prisoner kneels before each Canon, begs Pardon for his Crime, and is exhorted by them to Repentance and Amendment of Life After Mass the delivered Criminal is brought to the House of the Master of *St. Romanus's* Confraternity, where, though he should be never so poor, he is feasted with the utmost Magnificence. Next Morning he appears before the Chapter, and, kneeling in the Presence of the whole Congregation, he is reprimanded according to the Heinousness of his Crime, by one of the Canons deputed for that Purpose, and put in mind of giving Thanks to God, to *St. Romanus*, and to the Chapter: Finally, having engaged himself by a solemn Promise, to come himself, or send another, each of the seven following Years, with a lighted Taper, to the Procession, he goes to Confession to the Penitentiary of the Cathedral, and receives the Absolution of his Sins." This Ceremony is blamed by many, as abusive, whilst others pretend to justify it by old Customs practised in Antiquity, and chiefly by that mentioned in the Gospel, of delivering a Prisoner at the Feast of the Passover. However it certainly is not so much against the Honour of our Religion, as that dangerous Privilege of Places of Refuge, which in some Countries screen from Justice an infinite Number of profligate Criminals, to the everlasting Shame of the Clergy, who by condemning and punishing the Violation of such Immunities, as the worst of Crimes, authorize, in some Measure, even those Disorders which are most prejudicial to civil Society, and encourage them by the Hopes of Impunity. One of the Authors of the Collection out of which this

TRINITY Sunday, and the Feasts consecrated to the Memory of St. Barnabas, St. John the Baptist, and of the Apostles, furnish us with no particular Ceremony worth Notice. The Birth and Restauration of Charles the Second, and other such Days, though they have proper Offices appointed to be then performed in Churches, yet the Devotion on those Days, as we have said before, does not consist so much in Acts of Piety, as in Excess of Jollity: 'Twould therefore be quite foreign to our Purpose, to give an exact Description of the various Irregularities committed on those Anniversaries; of which it may truly be said, that the Character and Genius of every Nation appears then in its proper Colours. The impetuous and head-strong *English* drown their natural Melancholy in large Glasses of Rum or Brandy Punch, of strong Ale or Beer of their own Growth, or thick heavy Port: The heavy *Germans* give Way to the natural Pleasure they find in swallowing excessive Quantities of Wine, and are apt to take Fire on the least Suspicion of an Affront: The *Dutch* with a cold Indifference are bare Witnesses of the Diversions of others, or with a Pipe in their Mouths, sullenly think on their own Interest, about which they are as much concerned, on the Holiday, as in the most nice Circumstances of their Dealings. The *Frenchman*, lively and gay, is more delighted with a sudden Flash of Mirth, than with good Success in the most serious Affair; with the Levity and Fickleness of a Butterfly, leaves one Diversion to pursue another, and is as little serious and attentive in his Pleasures as in his greatest Concerns. The *English* Liturgy has appointed a Feast to be kept in Honour of St. Michael and all the Angels (for it is not appropriated to St. Michael only) because they are God's Ministers on Earth^p, fight for us against Satan, and represent our unhappy State before the Throne of Grace: It has the Name of St. Michael, because that holy Archangel was the tutelar Angel of the Jewish Church, and performs now the same Function in Regard to the Christian Church: By which last Words the Author whom we cite means to be sure chiefly, if not only, the Church of England, being himself of that Communion. The Presbyterians pretend that such a Feast opens the Way to a superstitious Worship of the Angels: Besides, who has told them, says Calderwood^q, that St. Michael is not Jesus Christ himself? The Collect for that Day begs of God to grant that the holy Angels may succour and defend us on Earth; the Epistle contains the Account, historically or allegorically related in the

Note is taken, speaking of this Procession, says, "that it presents to the View of the People a greater Monster than the Dragon himself a Man loaded with Crimes, rescued out of the Hands of Justice, to procure him an Impunity, by which the People present are told, as one may say that if any of them has a Mind to commit such Enormities, he may freely put them in Execution, without Fear, &c." The last mentioned Author (p. 63, and following) attacks boldly this Miracle, and the Time which is assigned to the Saint who wrought it. The Reasons he alledges are strong, at least they appeared convincing to the Great Council, as may be seen in their Register (p. 132, and following.) The Defence produced by the Chapter of Roan, to uphold the Privilege of St. Romanus's Shrine, is weak, and wholly made up of those sophistical Arguments, which Bigots are apt to mistake for solid Reasons: It contains but one Thing worth Notice, taken from Durandus's Rationale, where speaking of the Rogations, he says, that in his Time a Dragon was carried in Procession, the Tail of which on the two first Days was very much swelled, and the End of it raised high, as an Emblem of the proud and despotick Power of the Devil over Mankind under the Law of Nature, and that of Moses; but on the third Day the Swelling was gone, and the Tail hung down, to shew that the Devil had lost most of his Power under the Law of Grace, of which the third Day of Rogations is a Representation. The curious Reader may find more Particulars concerning this Shrine and Dragon in the Recherches de la France, by Pasquier, Lib. IX. Chap. XLII. To this Story of the Dragon overcome so happily by St. Romanus, we must add, by way of Amusement and Diversion, that St. Quirinus defeated another, with no other Arms than the Stole of St. Nicasius; and that St. Donatus a Bishop in Epirus killed one also by the Sign of the Cross; but this last Dragon, to which no other Dragon mentioned by Christians and Pagans, no not even Hercules's Hydra, can be compared, was of such a prodigious Weight and Size, that no less than sixteen Oxen were required to drag it to the Place of Execution, for it was actually burnt with all due Formalities; and sure it was no more than it justly deserved, having done so much Mischief.

^p See Apuleius de Deo Socratis.

^q Sparrow, in his Rationale, p. 153.

^r Calderwood, p. 479, cites several Passages of the Fathers to that Purpose.

Apocalypse, or Revelation, of the Battle fought by St. Michael and his Angels against the Dragon (called the Devil and Satan) and his Angels.

THE fifth of November is too well known by the Names of *Gun-Powder-Treason*, and of *The Popish Conspiracy*, to need any further Mention in this Place. The Collect of St. Andrew does not speak of his Martyrdom, which according to an ancient Tradition, witnessed by several Martyrologies, he suffered on a Cross. As to the Feast of All-Saints, every one knows 'tis only a Commemoration of them all together, lest some should be forgot, and deprived of their due Honour. "We should find it too painful and laborious a Task, says *Sparrow*, if we were obliged to celebrate the Memory of each particular Saint, upon whom God has bestowed his Grace; yet as in these particular Feasts we may justly be thought to have omitted some of our Duty, the Church has appointed a Day for them all at once, to repair our former Neglect."

AT the Beginning of the Reformation, the Church of *England* celebrated the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene on the 22d of July; but the last Reformers have left it out with the Collect, under Pretence, that it was uncertain whether *Mary Magdalene* was the same as the Sister of *Lazarus*, or which of the two was honoured on that Day. But a zealous Asserter of Festivals would have found no Difficulty of honouring both on one and the same Day: However many other Saints are in the *English* Calendar, without any proper Office in the Liturgy.

To the foregoing Account of the Festivals we must beg Leave to add a few Remarks. Religious Worship ought to be publicly performed, but if Churches are wanting, the Rubrick, and common Sense informs us, it must be done in private, rather than omitted. We have already mentioned another Rubrick, by which the Priest or Minister is ordered to be in a Surplice when he officiates, and in a Cope at the Communion Service in Cathedral or Collegiate Churches: "There is another Charge given to the Rectors of Parishes, or their Vicars, to instruct all the Children of their District, and to examine them about the Catechism, every Sunday and Holiday, at least for the Space of half an Hour before the Evening Prayer." The Divines of the Synod of *Dordrecht* say, that *Heresies are broached for Want of due Instruction*: But, as *Heresy* is one of the most equivocal Words used in religious Disputes; and often has no other Meaning, but the not approving some Explanations which the strongest Party has embraced; the said Divines might have said as truly, that *Heresy is a Want of Submission to the most authorized System of Divinity*: One may proceed still further; there are in all Communions some People hard to please, they take Notice that all the Works of Men are liable to many Imperfections; they do not esteem the various Systems of Religion to be so many Oracles of the Holy Ghost; they are of Opinion, old Notions, and Doctrines established by a long Prescription, may be rectify'd, or set in a clearer Light; they often, by Consequence, endeavour to explain what they imagin ought to be cleared up: And, as what was once new, has taken a deep Root, and is grown venerable by Antiquity, their new Tenets or Explications seldom fail to meet with Contempt, to become odious, and to be looked upon as a wicked Attempt upon Religion. A Man so disposed, of what Sect soever he be, may easily be induced to think, that *Instructions, and clearing up of Difficulties, occasion Heresies*. However an Author of the

¹ *Sparrow* in his *Rationale*, p. 153.

² *Sparrow* in his *Rationale*, p. 249.

Church of *England* finds Fault with the Presbyterians ' for destroying all the Advantages of Catechisms, and pulling down the Authority of Instruction, by their Sermons; and it must be owned, that Sermons are to this Day, as they were then, the chief Act of Calvinistical or Presbyterian Devotion; no doubt, because it is less difficult or troublesome than any other, both to the Preacher and to his Hearers. The Auditory is agreeably entertained with the Ornaments and rhetorical Figures of the Sermon; and the Minister is delighted to be thought an Apostle, by some Bigots, for the exact Disposition of the Parts and Graces of his Discourse. This pleasing Piece of Godliness becomes habitual, and inspires those Persons with that presumptuous Confidence, with which Christ so often reproaches the Pharisees: A Presbyterian, or Calvinist, who has been present at five or six Sermons in a Week, is so proud of his Merits in the Sight of God, that he thinks himself qualified and commissioned to decide without Appeal to the Religion of any Man, who has heard but one Sermon on a *Sunday*: This Self-Conceit entitles him, he fancies, to speak ill of all those he has seen at Church, and whose every Gesture he has pry'd into with a *Saintly* Curiosity. After all, this holy Exercise is not always perform'd with outward Regularity and Decency; the Faults which a *Roman* Author " of bright Parts finds with those who went in his Time to hear the famous Orators plead at the Bar, are exactly the same which are daily committed in our Churches.

BUT we must give to the Preachers of the Church of *England* the Praise which they deserve. Their Discourses are instructive and edifying, they neither make Use of those bold Strokes of Rhetorick which stunn the Auditory without persuading it, nor of those light delightful Flourishes, which amuse, without drawing the Attention. They enforce Gospel Truths with an Evangelical Simplicity, as being in themselves so bright and full of Light, as to want no borrowed Gloss, no foreign Lustre. The present Custom of banishing from Christian Sermons what may justly be called *Religious Quackery*, which is in Vogue amongst the Ministers of the Church of *England*, is so commendable, that we cannot but wish it may be lasting, and spread itself through all Christendom. We have likewise mentioned before, as worthy of Notice, that the Preachers in *England* are allowed to read in the Pulpit their Sermons, (and even those composed by others). Other Countries are not sensible of the Convenience of this Practice, and there are many Places where the Calvinist Inhabitants constantly and unanimously prefer to it nonsensical Bombast, pronounced with a bold Air, and a peremptory Tone; mystical canting Gibberidge sounds to them as *St. Paul's* heavenly Doctrine; they are quite ravished by contradictory and self-belying Speeches, and mistake for the Effect of an Apostolical Zeal, the Trouble and Labour in collecting so many Absurdities, and the Delivery of them. The Presbyterians are not backward in retorting such Compliments upon the Church of *England's* Ceremonies *.

Religious

* *L'Estrange* in his *Alliance*, &c. Chap. iv. p. 97.

" *Pliny*, Lib. I. Epist. XIII.

" *Calderwood*, in his *Alta. Damasc.* Chap. x. p. 455. and following, loudly complains, that Preaching, which he pretends should be the most essential Part of the Liturgy, is but the least Part of the *English* Service: But he injuriously asserts, that few of the Church of *England* Ministers are able to preach (*imò nec plerisque locis magis aptus est sacerdos Anglicanus ad concionandum quam asinus ad Lyram.*) But if it was so in his Time, the Case is much altered since. He proves at large that Preaching is the essential Duty of a Bishop, that 'tis as necessary, as Food to those who are starved with Hunger: A Child of ten Years old may perform the whole Liturgy: it is only an Abstract of the Papists Mass-Books and Breviaries, freed from many Superstitions, but with no other Merit but that of being less tiresome: The reading of Homilies is not a right Method of dispensing the Word of God. *Non est illud verbum Dei rite secare, homiliam legere.* He goes on, and condemns the Repetition of the same Prayers by the People after the Priest; sometimes aloud, sometimes in a low Voice; now kneeling, then standing. The Litanies he calls a *superstitious Tautology*, and says they

Religious Customs of the Church of ENGLAND, in the Administration of Sacraments.

WE shall begin with the Communion; and, without entering into the particular Meaning of the Word, or the Idea which it imprints in the Mind, give a plain Account of the Manner in which it is given. "So many as intend to be Partakers of the Holy Communion shall signifie it to the Curate the Day before. And if any of them be an open and notorious Ill-Liver, or have done any Wrong so that the Congregation be thereby offended, the Curate shall advertise him, that he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he has openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his Life and that he has recompensed the Parties to whom he has done Wrong Those between whom he perceives Malice or Hatred to reign, must be reconciled: Or if one be content to forgive and the other will not the Minister ought to admit the Penitent and not him that is obstinate but give an Account to the Ordinary who shall proceed against the offending Person." Such are the present Times, that an outward Profession of Faith or Repentance must be admitted as a sufficient Proof, and that in all Christian Countries; the Ministers of the Church are not Apostles, or able to dive into the Secrets of the Heart; and the Church is not freed from bad Members by the Trial of Persecutions: These Preliminaries are commendable, and not a meer Ceremony, unless Hypocrisy, which often disguises most Acts of Religion, should make it such.

THE Altar (for this Name is often given by those of the Church of *England* to the Communion Table) ought to have a fair white Liinnen Cloth upon it; (we use the very Words of the Book of Common-Prayer) and to stand in the Body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayers are appointed to be said. At all other Times the said Table is covered with a Silk Carpet and set in a decent Place *Altar wise*. This Order of the *English* Church is very offensive to the Presbyterians *; but it would no doubt seem tiresome to the Reader, if we set forth their Objections against it. The Priest, standing at the North Side ′ of the Table, says the Lord's Prayer with a Collect, then rehearses distinctly the ten Commandments, after each the People kneeling say, *Lord have Mercy upon us, and incline our Hearts to keep this Law*. This is followed by a Collect for the King, which the Priest says standing ′, the Collect of the Day, the Epistle ′ and Gospel ′, at which last the People stand, as they do likewise at the singing or reciting the *Nicene* or *Constantinopolitan Creed*, which is done immediately after the Gospel. Then the Curate declares unto

are against the Institution of Christ; the saying of various Collects at certain Distances, are not equivalent to a continued Prayer; the appointing set Days for the Litanies, standing at the Gospel, sitting at the Epistle, bowing to the Name of Jesus, kneeling at the Communion; in a Word, all the Ceremonies of the *English* Church are criticised and turned into Ridicule.

* *Calderwood*, p. 529.

′ Why at the North, and not at West or South? says *Calderwood*, in the same Page. *L'Estrange*, p. 166. says, it is by Way of Opposition to the Catholicks, who turn to the East. We hope the Reader will be satisfied with this Reason; at least *L'Estrange* gives no other.

″ Standing is a Mark of Authority: The Priest has God's Mission to declare his Will, to publish Peace and Reconciliation to the Faithful. *Sparrow*, p. 16.

″ The Epistle, says *L'Estrange* in *Alliance*, p. 167. represents the old Law; therefore it ought to be said before the Gospel.

″ At the mentioning the Word Gospel the People and Clergy sing *Glory be to God*, &c.

the People what Holidays and Fasting-Days are in the Week following to be observed; and, if Occasion be, publishes the Bans of Matrimony, reads Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications, and nothing is proclaimed or published in the Church during the Time of divine Service but by the Minister, nor by him any thing but what is prescribed in the Rules, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the Place.

THEN follows the Sermon, concerning which we shall only take Notice, that by a Canon or Constitution^c published by Queen *Elizabeth*, the Preacher is ordered to say no more than what is conformable to the Holy Scriptures, and what Catholic and Orthodox Fathers and Bishops of ancient Times have published in their Writings, agreeable to the Doctrine contained in that divine Book. But Christians, whose Faith is over-burthened with Controversies, and different Systems of Divinity, may well ask, where this Conformity with Holy Writ may be found, or in what it consists? This is therefore one of those arbitrary and equivocal Notions, of which we must hope Christ himself will one Day, by his sole Authority, determine the true and genuine Sense. The Sermon or Homily being ended, the Priest returns to the Table, and begins the second Part of the Communion Service, which is called Offertory, saying one or more Sentences of Scripture, all adapted (says ^d*Calderwood*, with a malicious Sneer, so common to all Parties) to excite the Faithful to give liberally to the Poor. The same Author seems inclined to censure also the Alms which are for the Support of the Ministers themselves, and by the Regulation made in 1536 are given four times a Year^e. Whilst these Sentences are read, the Deacons, Church-wardens, and other fit Persons, appointed for that Purpose, receive the Alms for the Poor or other Devotions of the People in a decent Basin, to be provided by the Parish, and reverently bring it to the Priest, who humbly presents it, and places it upon the Holy Table. “And when there is a Communion, says the *Rubrick*, “the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall “think sufficient.” This seems to signify, that there may be a Communion Service without Communicants: We shall enquire into this hereafter. The Offertory being over, the Priest prays for the whole State of the Church Militant here on Earth. This Prayer is different at this Time from that which was in use under ^f*Edward* the Sixth, and contained a Commemoration of the blessed Virgin, and of the Saints, with a kind of Prayer for the Dead; all which are now left out. “When the Minister “gives Warning for the Celebration of the holy Communion (which he shall always “do upon the *Sunday* or some Holiday immediately preceding) after the Sermon or “Homily is ended, he shall read an Exhortation (to prepare those who intend to “receive) or in Case he shall see the People negligent to come to the holy Communion, instead of the former he shall use another Exhortation,” earnestly intreating the Faithful to become Partakers of that most heavenly Food; and by another short Discourse represents to them both the spiritual Benefits accruing from the Sacrament worthily received, and the Wickedness, and the great Danger, if it is received without due Repentance, &c. Then the Priest, not questioning their being rightly disposed, invites them to a general Confession, which is made by him and all the People kneeling humbly upon their Knees: This being ended, the Minister (or the Bishop, if present) stands up, and turning himself to the People, pronounces the

^c *Sparrow*, in his *Rationale*, p. 163.

^d Chap. X. p. 330.

^e *Christmas*, *Easter*, *St. John the Baptist's Feast*, and that of *St. Michael*.

^f See *L'Estrange*, Chap. VI. p. 158. and the *Historical Account*, &c. p. 159. at the Beginning of *Sparrow's Rationale*, &c.

Abſolution, reads ſome comfortable Paſſages of the New Teſtament, and in order to fix the Attention of the Communicants to this Act of Religion, ſays, *Liſt up your Hearts (ſurſum corda)* &c. as in the Liturgy. The Preface, which immediately follows, is not always the ſame; for the feſtivals of *Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Aſcenſion, Whitſunday* and *Trinity*, have each their proper Preface: After which, the *Trifogium* or *Holy, Holy, Holy*, is ſaid. Then the Prieſt, kneeling down at the Lord's Table, prays in the Name of all thoſe who are to receive the Communion; this being over, he ſtands up before the Table, and having ſo ordered the Bread and Wine "That he " may with the more Readineſs and Decency break the Bread before the People, " and take the Cup into his Hands, ſays the Prayer of Conſecration," which begins the third Part of the Communion Service; the wording of it is very remarkable, and runs thus: "Hear us, O merciful Father and grant that we " receiving theſe thy Creatures of Bread and Wine according to Jeſus " Chriſt's holy Inſtitution, in Remembrance of his Death and Paſſion, may be " Partakers of his moſt bleſſed Body and Blood; who in the ſame Night that he " was betray'd ^a took Bread, and when he had given Thanks, ^b he brake it, and " gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, Take, eat, ^c this is my Body which is given for " you, do this in Remembrance of me. Likewise after Supper, ^d he took the Cup, " and when he had given Thanks, he gave it to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of this, " for this ^e is my Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for you . . . for the " Remiſſion of Sins: Do this as oft as ye ſhall drink it in Remembrance of me." What muſt be the Opinion of the Church of *England* in thus receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharift? The Prayer before the Conſecration has theſe Words: *Grant us . . . ſo to eat the Fleſh of . . . Jeſus Chriſt, and to drink his Blood, that our ſinful Bodies may be made clean by his Body, &c.* Another Prayer after Communion ſays, *We are fed . . . with the ſpiritual Food of the moſt precious Body and Blood of . . . Jeſus Chriſt.* Certainly the Church of *England* does not believe the real Preſence, in the ſame Senſe with the *Roman* Catholicks; " ^m that is a phyſical Preſence, by which the Body of Chriſt, under foreign Appearances, ſtill preſerves all " the eſſential Properties of Bodies But the *Engliſh* Church admits a real, " though inviſible Preſence; it rejects a natural, ſenſible, phyſical and local Preſence, and is willing to own ⁿ an inviſible, ſpiritual, and ſacramental one, " ſuch as ſeems convenient ^o to the Deſign of Jeſus Chriſt." *A Body ſpiritually preſent!* This ſeems to Catholicks no leſs abſurd, than to the *Engliſh*, a naturally extended human Body contained within the narrow Compaſs of a Wafer. But to avoid *Controverſy*, in a Subject liable to ſo many Difficulties, and which is one of the moſt incomprehenſible Myſteries of Chriſtian Religion; might not every good Chriſtian ſay the Prayer of *Montſuek* Biſhop of *Valence* ^p in *Dauphiné*, without pretending to ſearch to the Bottom this impenetrable Myſtery: We beg Leave to conclude this ſhort Digreſſion by asking one Queſtion: Would any intelligent Reader

^a Here the Prieſt is to take the Paten into his Hands.

^b And here to break the Bread.

^c And here to lay his Hand upon all the Bread.

^d Here he is to take the Cup into his Hand.

^e And here to lay his Hand upon every Veſſel (be it Chalice or Flagon) in which there is any Wine to be conſecrated.

^m *Relat. Apolog. des ſentimens du P. le Courayer.* Vol. I. p. 109.

ⁿ The ſhort Catechiſm ſays, *The Body and Blood of Chriſt . . . are verily and indeed taken and received by the Faithful in the Lord's Supper.*

^o See *L'Eſtrange* in his *Alliance*, &c. Chap. VII. p. 210.

^p Lord, give me Grace ſo to receive you, as you gave yourſelf to your Apoſtles. See *Conf. Cath. of Seney*, in the Remarks on *Henry the Third's Journal*.

look upon it as a Paradox, if we should say, that the Heathens so often reproached the primitive Christians with eating human Flesh in their Feasts, chiefly, if not only, upon Account of some confused Notion they had of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and of the Passages of St. *John's* Gospel and other inspired Books concerning it?

“^a THE Priest first receives the Communion in both Kinds himself, then proceeds “ to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons . . . (if any be present) “ and after that to the People also in Order ‘ into their Hands, all meekly kneeling.” They receive it in their Hands, because, says an *English* Author ‘, the Custom of receiving it in their Mouths from the Priest’s Hand favours too much of Transubstantiation. We shall not pretend to give our Opinion, whether this Reason alledged has any Solidity, or whether there was any Occasion to fear the People should have at one and the same Time two such seemingly unconnected Ideas: But we must take Notice, that some Ages before Disputes arose in the Western Church about the Nature of this Sacrament; a much greater sort of outward Respect was paid to this Mystery by the Faithful, than had been done in primitive Times. St. *Cyprian*^c and *Eusebius* are quoted for the Custom of putting the Eucharist into the Hands of the Communicants: But to convince us that a scrupulous Nicety introduced itself in the Devotion toward this Sacrament, we are told that about three hundred Years after, the Christians of *Greece* durst not touch these holy Mysteries, but carried them to their Mouths on a small Paten of Gold or Silver; which Custom was condemned and abolished in the sixth Council of *Constantinople*^d, though it was only an outward Mark of the Respect of those timorous Christians. The kneeling Posture is certainly becoming the Dignity of this Mystery, which deserves a profound Veneration. A Subject ought not “ to make himself too familiar with his Lord and Master, and how durst we receive the Mystery of our *eternal Redemption* in any other than the most submissive Posture? This Use, indeed, was not universal in the first Ages; because the Faithful met chiefly on *Sundays*, when kneeling was not allowed, and for that Reason they received the Sacrament standing; but they were directed to bow by way of Adoration^e. In spite of all these Reasons, and notwithstanding the *English* aver, that the ‘ Fear of reverting to Popish Idolatry is altogether vain, the Presbyterians dislike kneeling more than any other Situation of the Body. Kneeling, they say, is against the Institution of Christ, ‘ ’tis an Invention of Antichrist^f, and though it may seem indifferent in itself, it ought to be rejected, as having been polluted and corrupted by Antichrist’s superstitious Idolatry. According to those fiery Orthodox Zealots, sitting round a Table is more conformable to the Institution of Christ. They even do alledge several figurative Reasons for their receiving the Communion in that Manner. Sitting, say the Puritans, shews to what high Dignity we are raised by God, and how familiarly he invites us^g; sitting is a Type of the spiritual Rest ‘ which the Faithful find in Christ. A happy Invention this of mystical Explications! All Parties, all Customs, may and ever will find the Usefulness of them, and be justified by them.

^a See the Rubrick, in the Common Prayer Book.

^b The double Print here annexed represents the *English* Communion.

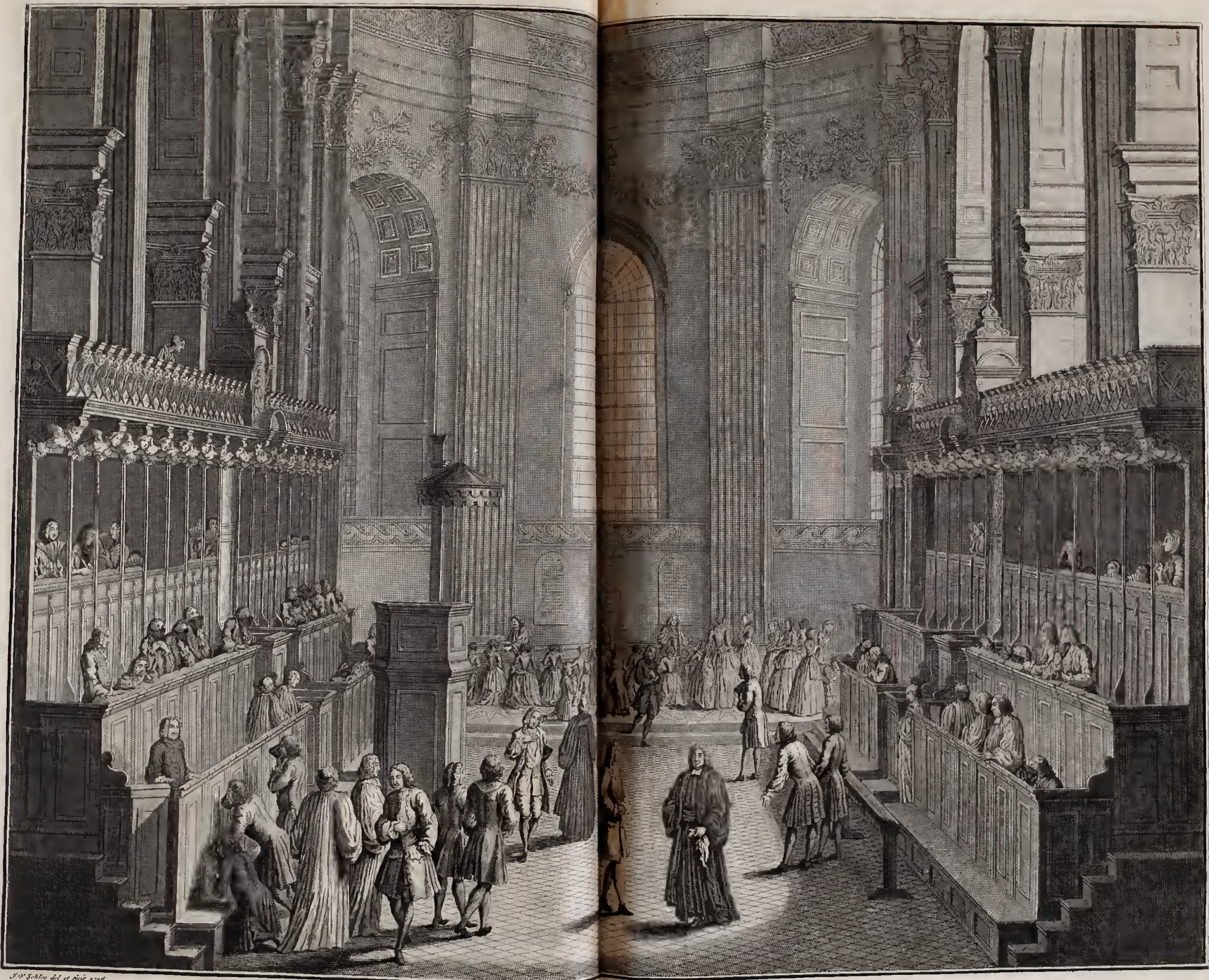
^c *L’Estrange* in his *Alliance*, &c. p. 209.

^d The *Greeks* look upon it as a General Council; ’tis called *Quint-sexum*, being as a Supplement to the fifth and sixth, which had made no Canons about Discipline.

^e *L’Estrange*, in the same Page 209.

^f *L’Estrange*, in the same Page 209.

^g *Calderwood*, p. 541, 574, 553.



L'Op. Schlegel del. et gravé 1738.

La COMMUNION des ANGLICANS à SAINT PAUL.



THE Priest says a Prayer when he gives the Bread, and another when the Cup is given to any one ^d. If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more If, on the contrary, there remains any when all have communicated, the Minister returns to the Lord's Table, and reverently places upon it what remains of the *consecrated Elements*, ^e covering the same with a fair Linen Cloth. Here begins the fourth and last Part of the Communion Service. The Lord's Prayer is said by the Minister, the People repeating after him every Petition; then follows another Form of Thanksgiving, after which the *Glory be to God on high*, a Hymn to which Antiquity has given the Appellation of Angelical. But why, says a Doctor of the Church of England, why is that Hymn sung in the Administration of the Sacrament of Christ's Body, which the Angels did sing at his Birth? ^f because, says he, this Thanksgiving is as convenient when Christ is made one with us in the Sacrament, as it was when he became one of us by his Nativity: Another Reason for singing this holy Canticle, is, that by Communion we are raised to the Dignity of Angels; finally, this is done in Imitation of Christ, who after the last Supper, in which the Eucharist was instituted, said likewise an Hymn. Such *ceremonial Imitations* very often occur in Christian Worship, and no Wonder, this is the easiest Way of following Christ. The whole Service is concluded, by the Priest, (or Bishop, if he be present) dismissing the Congregation with a Blessing.

" EVERY Parishioner is ordered by the Rubrick to communicate at the least three times in the Year, of which *Easter* to be one: And then shall reckon with the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, or his or their Deputy or Deputies, and pay all ecclesiastical Dues After the divine Service is ended the Money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable Uses as the Minister and Churchwardens shall think fit In Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Colleges, where there are many Priests and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion every Sunday except they have a reasonable Cause to the contrary. There must be no Celebration of the Lord's Supper, unless there be a convenient Number to communicate with the Priest, according to his Discretion. And if there be not above twenty Persons in the Parish of Discretion to receive, yet there shall be no Communion, except four (or three at the least) communicate with the Priest." The Presbyterians find Fault with this last Clause, as too much resembling *Private Masses* ^g. Some Collects are appointed to be said, one or more after the Offertory, when there is no Communion. What! say the Puritans, an Offertory when no body *offers* any thing? And who offers when there is no Communion? Again " upon the *Sundays* and other Holy days, says the Rubrick, (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, to the End of the general Prayer (for the good Estate of the Catholick Church of Christ)." This likewise seems shocking to the Puritans: Here is, say they, a *dry Mass*, a *Shadow without a Body*! ^h

WE now proceed to give an Account of Baptism. The Rubrick says, " that it is most convenient, Baptism should not be administered, but upon *Sundays* and

^d If another Minister or Deacon happens to be present, he helps the officiating Priest, and gives the Cup to the Laity.

^e What remains " is not to be carried out of the Church, says the Rubrick, but the Priest, and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall immediately after the Blessing reverently eat and drink the same." This Word *reverently* does not escape Censure from the Presbyterians.

^f Sparrow, in his *Rationale*, p. 181. the Gingle of *made one with us*, and *became one of us*, pleased the good Dr. Sparrow.

^g See *Calderwood*, p. 534. and 535.



Le BAPTÊME domestique.



Le SERMENT de la FILLE qui se trouve enceinte.



CONVOI Funèbre des ANGLAIS.

Time appointed. The Godfathers and Godmothers are not to answer, as they did in infant Baptism, for the Persons christened, in quality of their spiritual Fathers or Mothers; they rather are present as Witnesses only. The Priest directs his Discourse and Exhortations to the Persons baptized, prays for them, and with them; they themselves renounce the Devil and all his Works, the vain Pomp and Glory of this World, with all covetous Desires of the same, *and the carnal Desires of the Flesh*: They make their Profession of Faith: After which, and some few Prayers said by the Minister, "he takes each Person to be baptized by the right Hand, and placing "him conveniently by the Font he dips him in the Water, or pours "Water upon him, saying, *N. I baptize thee, &c.*" Then he receives them into the Church, signs them with the Cross, gives Thanks to God, and ends with a short Exhortation, first to the Godfathers and Godmothers, then to the Person baptized; recommending it to him "to be confirmed by the Bishop so soon after his Baptism as "conveniently may be, that so he may be admitted to the holy Communion."

CONFIRMATION has been mentioned by us in the foregoing Sheets; in the Church of England, as amongst Catholics, the Bishops are sole Ministers of this *religious Ceremony*. This is the most respectful Name we can bestow on Confirmation, since the *English* have degraded it from the Dignity of a Sacrament; yet, such as it is, the Presbyterians blame, despise, and hate itⁿ. The Author, whom we cite, reviles it as an everlasting Source of Ignorance, which is universally spread, where-ever Confirmation is admitted: The Reason he gives for this Assertion is, that those who are confirmed get only by Heart, like so many Parrots, a *Ceremonial Catechism*, they repeat it when the Bishop comes, and forget it the Moment he is gone, because they do not understand it. He even avers, that in his Time several Priests were not well versed in it themselves, and so grossly ignorant, that they knew not the Difference of a *Sheep* from a *Ship*. But we must not depend upon the Truth of this Character; Times are much altered since this severe Censure.

THE short Catechism which every Person is to learn before he is brought to be confirmed by the Bishop, is to be seen in the Book of Common Prayer. The Christian Doctrine and moral Duties are delivered in it with that plain, easy, and familiar Simplicity, which is necessary for Beginners. Experience shews, that those *substantial Catechisms*, so highly extolled by the Presbyterians, neither explain and put in a clearer Light the Mysteries of Religion, nor instil more solid Piety into the Souls of the Faithful: Far from it; those Countries which are most plentifully stored with these substantial Catechisms are only famous for useless and merely speculative Disputes about Religion. However the Church of England orders, that, for the Instruction of the Faithful *Beginners*, "the Curate of every Parish shall diligently upon "Sundays and Holidays, after the second Lesson at Evening Prayer, openly in the "Church instruct and examine so many Children of his Parish sent unto him . . . "in . . . the Catechism . . . All Fathers, Mothers, Masters, or Mistresses, shall "cause their Children, Servants, and Prentices (who have not learnt their Catechism) "to come to the Church at the Time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the Curate, until such Time as they have learned all that is "appointed for them to learn The Children who are sufficiently "instructed" shall be brought to the Bishop, and every one shall have a Godfather

ⁿ 'Tis needless to copy here what *Calderwood* writes on this Subject. See his Book, p. 259, 262, 266, and 624.

^{*} The Rubrick is more circumstantial concerning what they are to learn.

" or a Godmother, as a Witness of their Confirmation All being placed and
 " standing in Order before the Bishop, he (or some other Minister appointed by him)
 " shall read" what is called the *Preface of Confirmation*, which briefly explains the
 Nature and End of it; then he makes them renew and confirm the Promises which
 were made for them by their Godfathers and Godmothers at Baptism, and prays for
 them, that they may receive the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; " then all of them
 " kneeling in Order before the Bishop, he lays his Hand upon the Head of every one
 " severally," says another Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, and two Collects, and dismisses
 them by giving his Blessing.

WE must mention here some Changes made by the last Reformers from the more
 ancient *English* Liturgy in Baptism and Confirmation. The Ceremony of Baptism
 began at the Church-Door, ^p and the malicious Interpretation given by the Presbyte-
 rians, as mentioned Note ⁱ p. 80. relates to that Custom. The Priest, after the first
 Collect, asked the Child's Name, and made the Sign of the Cross upon its Forehead
 and Breast. The second Collect was followed by the Exorcism; the Child was thrice
 dipt, on the right, on the left, and then with the Child's Face downwards, towards
 the Font. After the Dipping the Minister anointed the Child with Chrism on the
 Forehead. At the Confirmation the Bishop made the Sign of the Cross on the Fore-
 head of the Children confirmed, and said a Prayer suitable to that Ceremony. We
 shall omit some Alterations of less Moment.

THE Account of Marriage must be introduced, by taking Notice, that in the
 Church of *England* " the Banns of all that are to be married together must be pub-
 " lished in the Church three several *Sundays* or *Holidays*, in the Time of divine Ser-
 " vice, immediately before the Sentences for the Offertory." The Form of asking
 is too well known to require being set down. " If the Persons who are to be mar-
 " ried dwell in divers Parishes the Banns must be asked in both Parishes; and the
 " Curate of the one Parish shall not solemnize Matrimony without a Certi-
 " ficate of the Banns being thrice asked from the Curate of the other Parish
 " At the Day and Time appointed for the Solemnization of Matrimony, the Per-
 " sons to be married shall come into the Body of the Church, with their Friends
 " and Neighbours, and there standing together, the Man on the right Hand, and
 " the Woman on the left," the Priest reads an Exhortation on the Duty, Condition,
 and Chastity of a married State; then another particularly directed to the Persons who
 are to be married ^q. " At which Day of Marriage, if any Man do alledge or de-
 " clare any Impediment, why they may not be coupled together in Matrimony, by
 " God's Law, or the Laws of this Realm, and will be bound, and sufficient Sureties
 " with him, to the Parties, or else put in a Caution (to the full Value of such Charges,
 " as the Persons to be married do thereby sustain) to prove his Allegation; then
 " the Solemnization must be deferred until such Time as the Truth be tried
 " If no Impediment be alledged, then the Curate" asks their mutual Consent; which
 being declared, they give their Troth to each other (that Troth which is but too of-
 ten barely a *Ceremonial Troth*) taking alternately one the other by the right Hand,
 and saying, " I *N.* take thee *N.* to be my wedded Wife (or Husband) to have and
 " to hold, from this Day forward, for better for worse^r, for richer for poorer, in

^p See the *Appendix* before *Sparrow's Rationale*, p. 164. and following.

^q He requires and charges them both, if either of them knows any Impediment, why they may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony, to confess it.

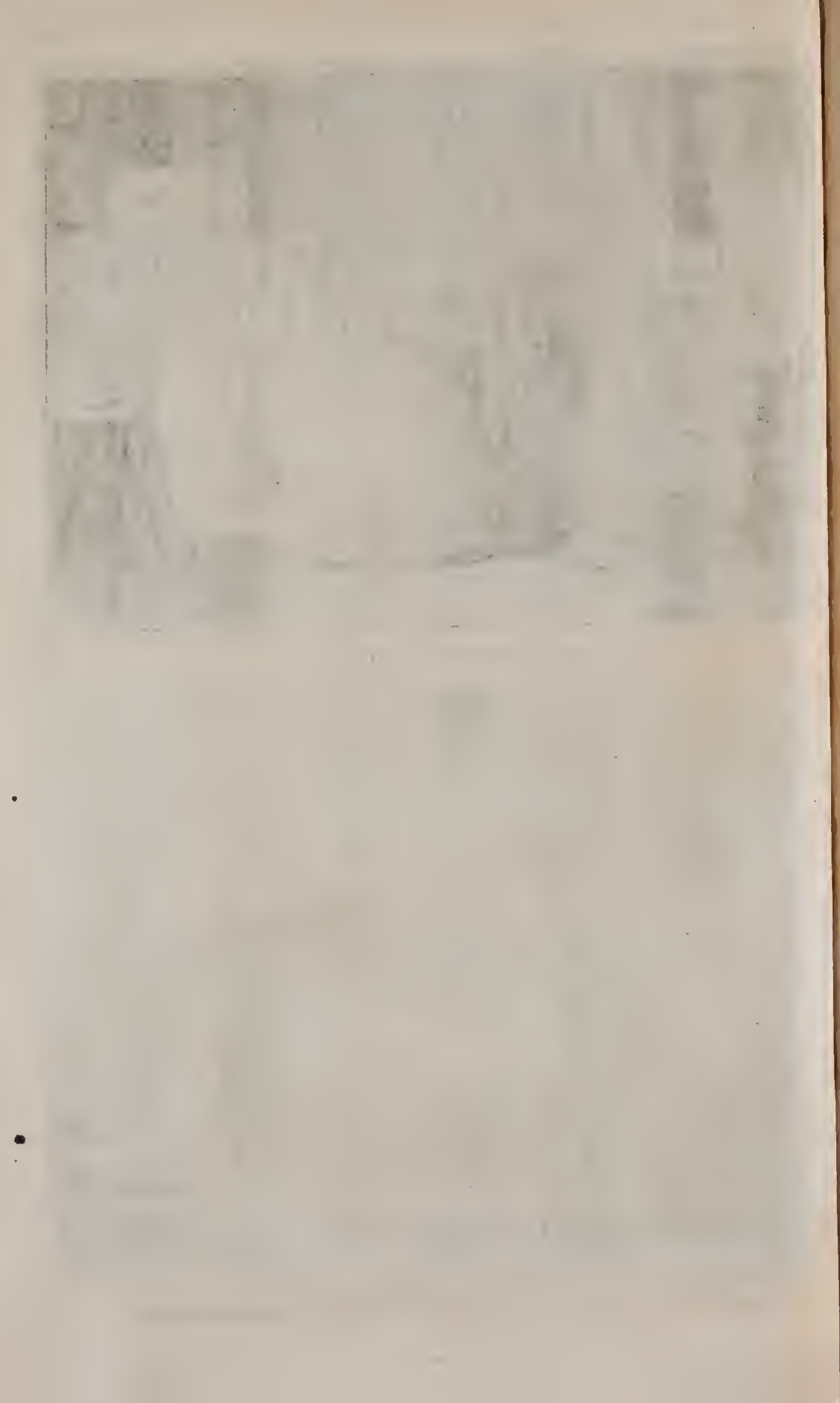
^r In a *Latin* Translation of the Common-Prayer-Book, instead of for better for worse, are the Words *pro ut mihi*, which signify, *preferably to others*, better or worse, &c. Which is best, let the Readers be Judges.



Le MARIAGE CLANDESTIN.



Ceremonies FUNEBRES DOMESTIQUES chez les ANGLOIS.



"Sickness and in Health to love and to cherish (the Wife says, to love, cherish, "and to obey) till Death us do part, according to God's holy Ordinance; and there- "to I plight thee my Troth." These mutual Contracts are absolutely and indis- pensibly necessary to preserve the Honour and procure the Safety of Mankind; yet we must own, that of all Vows and Promises made in the Sight of God, and the Presence of Men, this is the most difficult to be comply'd with, upon Account of the innumerable grievous Consequences which flow from it; without entering into Particulars, we shall only take Notice, that all Sorts of, even contradictory, Evils are often reunited in that State; vicious Dispositions are always troublesome, in Ma- trimony they are insufferably perplexing and tormenting; Virtue itself, so amiable in other Circumstances of Life, 'often proves troublesome in this: However these do- mestic Wars are not without their Truces, general Amnities' are granted, and so the World is peopled. "Then they again loose their Hands, and the Man shall "give unto the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the Book (of Common "Prayer, we suppose) with the accustomed Dues to the Priest and Clerk. And "the Priest taking the Ring, shall deliver it unto the Man to put it upon the fourth "Finger of the Woman's left Hand", and the Man . . . taught by the Priest "shall say, *With this Ring I thee wed, with my Body I thee worship*, &c. Both kneel "down, the Minister says a Prayer, joins their right Hands together, and adds a "Blessing . . . then going to the Lord's Table, say or sing a Psalm . . . which "being ended, the Man and the Woman kneeling before the Lord's Table, the "Priest standing at the Table . . . says a Litany, followed by some Prayers and "an Instruction concerning the Duties of Man and Wife, and so concludes." Only the Rubrick adds, that "it is convenient the new-married Persons should receive the "holy Communion at the Time of their Marriage, or at the first Opportunity after "their Marriage."

BEFORE the last Reformation of the *English* Liturgy, the Husband having said, *With this Ring I thee wed*, added, *This Gold and Silver I thee give*. The following Collect bore some Allusion to that Ceremony: Moreover the Priest at the Nuptial Blessing made the Sign of the Cross on the married Couple. All this is left out now.

THE Print here annexed represents a *Clandestine Marriage*. And since we have mentioned a Custom liable to so many Abuses, of so pernicious a Nature, and the

For Example, what is more afflicting, than a Husband or a Wife, who will be at their Prayers, when the one should be abroad about his Affairs, the other keeping the Family in Order at home? Not to mention other more secret Disappointments occasioned by an over-strained Devotion, in either Party. *Dryden* wittily says of Coquets,

—In unchaste Wives
There's yet a kind of recompensing Ease,
Vice keeps them humble, gives 'em Care to please.
And of Prudes:

A virtuous Woman's but a cursed Wife.

Now and then small Quarrels will happen, but they ought to be without Rancour. Amongst the *Grecians*, those who were married, offered to *Juno*, who presided in Marriages, (*gamelix*) a Sacrifice, but they pulled out the Gall of the Victim, and flung it behind the Altar, to shew that all Animosities ought to be laid aside in Matrimony.

We are told very gravely, that the Ring is put on that Finger preferably to any other, because, forsooth, say those ignorant Anatomists, there is in that Finger, according to some, a Vein, according to others, a Ten- don, which directly reaches the Heart.

This means, that the Husband, say they, deprives himself of the Power of delivering his Body to any other Woman. Other Authors explain the Word *Worship* by that of *bowing to*, which is taken either seri- ously, or by way of Jest. The *Athenian* Laws obliged them to marry but one Woman, and dispensed Bastards from the Duty of maintaining their Parents, as having gotten them only for Pleasure sake. So true it is that Marriage alone can establish upon solid Principles the reciprocal Affection of Man and Wife, Pa- rents and Children!

Consequences of which are both dangerous and dishonourable to good Families; we must give an Account of what is most remarkable in it. “ In *England*, says an Author * who had not been a *Refugee* in *England* long enough to approve all the bad Customs of it, a Boy of fourteen, and a Girl of twelve Years of Age, may marry against the Will of Parents or Guardians, without any Possibility of dissolving such Marriages, though one should be a Hog-Driver’s Son, and the other a Duke’s Daughter. This often occasions strange Medleys; and what is still more strange . . . these Children have it not only in their Power thus to dispose of themselves, but may do it with all possible Ease and Secrecy. If it was required for the Validity of a Marriage, that the *Banns* should be openly published thrice in the Church, and in a full Congregation, Things would be known, and a young Woman inclined to an unfit Match might be dissuaded from it, or a more suitable one provided for her But Marriages are contracted so privately, that a young Woman (who who was thought still a Virgin) is often taken with Labour-Pains and brought to Bed, before any Mention is made of the Father The Law indeed requires a Publication of *Banns*; but Custom, and a *dispensing Power*, has made it of no Use: Asking in the Church is seldom done now-a-days; and since for a couple of Crowns a Man may transact such Affairs in private, few, if any, will have them made publick . . . and the Churchmen, who find their Account in it, are far from discountenancing the Practice: A Dispensation is purchased . . . the Couple is married in a Closet . . . (or in a Tavern) before two Friends, who are as Witnesses †, so the indissoluble Knot is tied ‡. What is worse, even Dispensations are not always necessary: There are *privileged Places*, take the two first Persons you meet †, though meer Beggars, go with them to such a Place, as early as you please, the Priest will marry the Couple so effectually, that neither King nor Parliament can unmarry them. Half a Guinea does the Business; often less. What follows? Footmen marry young Ladies, Noblemen Oyster-Wenches, the Marriages if known are unhappy, if kept private, and not to be proved, Polygamy becomes easy, and is very common.”

THE same Author † says, “ many diverting Particulars might be related concerning Weddings; but . . . there would be no End, Customs varying in different Countries, and according to the different Rank and Quality of the contracting Parties. We shall only give an Account of what is practised on these Occasions in and about *London*. People of Distinction . . . (and many others follow their Example) are married late in the Evening, at their own Houses, or in the Country: (We need not mention the usual Diversions, in eating and drinking, being merry, singing, dancing, gaming) Wedding Favours are distributed to those who are invited; and very often to some Hundreds who were not present at the Marriage; they are wore pinn’d on the Sleeve, Breast, or Hat † When those of a middling Fortune and State of Life are willing to be married in publick (which seldom happens) they invite their Friends and Relations; all have new

* *Memoires & Observations*, p. 295.

† Witnesses may be bought for this and other Purposes: The best Things are abused: What a Shame! a Nation otherwise very valuable, should so much countenance Perjury.

‡ Those who are married in *England* thus, if *Dutch*, or of other Countries, when they come home, are obliged to do it over again publicly.

† One Witness is enough, the Priest’s Clerk or Servant Maid serves instead of a second.

† *Memoires*, p. 316.

† This Custom is of no Moment: But it may be matched with what is called in *Holland*, *The Bride’s Tears*; viz. Rhenish Wine and Sugar mixt, and sent to all Neighbours and Friends.

“ Clothes, and richer or neater than usual ; ’tis looked upon as shameful to go to a
 “ Wedding without a new Drefs. The Gentlemen hand the Ladies to their Coaches,
 “ and go to Church with a great Retinue to be married at Noon-Day Di-
 “ versions fucceed in publick fometimes Generally all is done in pri-
 “ vate: The *Bridegroom* and *Bride*, led by their Parents, or their Representatives,
 “ and accompanied by two Bridemen and two Bridemaids, go early, with a Dif-
 “ pensation in their Pockets, to make the Parfon and his Clerk rife ^d, tell them the
 “ Reafons they have to be married privately and without Noife ; drop a Gui-
 “ nea to the Parfon, a Crown to the Curate or Clerk ; the Ceremony over, one
 “ goes one Way, the other another meet at a Tavern, or a Friend’s
 “ Houfe then go to the appointed Place, feaft well, then come home with-
 “ out making any Shew (If Fidlers know any thing of this, they come by
 “ Day-Break and make an Hurly-Burly and are ufually paid) A Glas
 “ goes round before they go to Bed, and when the Hour is come, the Bride-
 “ men take off the Bride’s Garters (which ſhe unties before for that Purpoſe)
 “ and put them to their Hats The Bride-Maids lead the Bride to the
 “ Bed-Chamber, undrefs her, and put her to Bed. She muſt loſe or throw away
 “ all her Pins ; woe be to her if ſhe ſaves one The Bride-Maids likewiſe muſt
 “ not keep any of them, under Pain of not being married till the *Eaſter* following,
 “ at ſoonest. An idle Notion, but ſo far minded as to loſe effectually all the Pins
 “ uſed by the Bride. The Women Friends and Relations conduct the Bride to Bed ;
 “ and the Men Friends and Relations accompany the Bridegroom to the ſame
 “ Place. The Men take the Bride’s Stockings, and the Women thoſe of the Bride-
 “ groom, all ſit at the Bed’s Feet, and throw the Stockings over their Heads, en-
 “ deavouring to hit the Owner of them, which if it happens is a Prognostick, that
 “ the Perſon who threw it will be married ſoon ; and ſuch Accidents often occaſion
 “ new Matches, though they themſelves look upon this Ceremony as meer Play and
 “ Foolery. Mean while the Poſſet is got ready, and given to the married Couple ;
 “ they have alſo a Sack-Poſſet given to them in the Morning when they awake ; the
 “ Reaſon is eaſily gueſſed.”

MANY other Cuſtoms might find Place on this Occaſion, and delight the Reader by their comical Singularity ; but we dare not crowd in too great a Number of thoſe Trifles, as not being properly religious Ceremonies ; which therefore, ’till approved by the Church, or by the Governors of it, preſcribed by eccleſiaſtical Laws, or Formularies, we ſhall omit, except two or three of the moſt remarkable. The firſt is what the Inſcription of the Print here annexed calls the *Breeding Woman’s Oath*. A Cuſtom not to be met with in other Countries, and which is ſo fantaſtical or rather unjuſt, that it would be a Prejudice to the Laws of *England*, if we were to judge of their Equity by that Practice. Suppoſe any of thoſe Girls which may be called amphibious (being neither Wives nor Virgins) is found to be with Child : She either does not, or will not pretend to know the Father of this Child ; in order to free herſelf from the Trouble of maintaining it when born, ſhe looks out for ſome rich Man, upon whom ſhe intends to father it. Generally, they ſay, ſhe pitches upon ſome good Citizen, though ſhe does not know him, or may be has never ſeen him : Then ſhe goes before a Juſtice of the Peace, ſummons the pretended Father, to appear before him, and in his Preſence ſwears upon the Bible, which the Clerk

^d Generally the Parſon is acquainted with it over Night, that he may be ready.

holds to her, *that she owns and declares, that such a one, whom she has summoned to appear, is the Father of the Child in her Womb.* How far the equivocal Expressions and Restrictions of that Oath may excuse her from Perjury, let a good Casuist be the Judge. However the Man so named and sworn to, by this Formality of Law, is obliged to pay an arbitrary Fine, and to agree upon a Sum of Money for the Maintenance of the Child.

WE shall now give to our Readers an Account of another great Abuse, in the Words of the so often cited Author of *Memoires & Observations*, &c. “ Women or “ Girls condemned to Death, seldom fail pretending they are quick with Child, to “ defer their Execution till after they are brought to Bed. They are examined by “ Matrons . . . who often (either for Money, or out of Compassion) declare them “ to be quick with Child. It also happens to be often true . . . for though they “ should be chaste Virgins when they go into Prison, they meet there with *Varlets* . . . “ who are careful to let them know . . . that if they are not with Child, they “ must endeavour to be so . . . to drill out Time, in Case they should be condemn’d “ to Death . . . How can they withstand such a Temptation?” There is also a Way of punishing quarrelsome or debauched Women, which we must not omit. “ An Arm-Chair is fix’d between two Poles about twelve or fifteen Feet long^c, yet “ so contrived to turn upon a kind of Axle-tree . . . that the Person who sits in it “ is always in a natural Posture, whether the Chair^f be raised or lowered. Then “ some Posts are fixed near the Water, and the two Poles set upon them in an equal “ Balance in such a Manner that the Chair is directly over the Water, the Woman “ is placed in it, then let down over Head and Ears, as often as is required . . . “ to cool her immoderate Heat and Passion.” This is done chiefly to common Women, who are always willing and ready to receive any Man, or to let themselves out by the Hour; or to be married for a Night and no longer. At the *Hague* such Women are put in a Cage, and so made to turn round, till by Giddiness they drop down into a Swoon.

THEY have another Custom in *England* which we shall also mention merely for its being ridiculous. “ I have often met in *London* Streets, *says the same Author*, a “ Woman carrying something in the Shape of a Man crowned with a huge Pair of “ Horns; a Drum went before, and a vast Crowd followed, making a strange Music with Tongs, Gridirons, and Kettles . . . ’Twas it seems a good-natured “ Woman, who by this Burlesque Ceremony vindicated a Neighbour of hers who “ had stoutly beaten her Husband, for being so saucy as to accuse his Wife of being “ unfaithful to his Bed.” Every body conceives without a Comment, that the *Figure with Horns* represented the Husband. But enough of those matrimonial Foeries; we now return to more worthy Subjects, and more convenient to the Intent of this Work.

THE Rubrick in the Book of Common-Prayer orders, that “ when any Person is “ sick, Notice shall be given thereof to the Minister of the Parish, who coming “ into the sick Person’s House shall say, *Peace be to this House, and to all that dwell “ in it.* When he comes into the sick Man’s Presence, he kneels down, says some “ Prayers, and exhorts him . . . rehearses the Articles of Faith, to which the sick “ Person answers, *All this I stedfastly believe.*” Then the Minister examines and

^c *Memoires*, &c. p. 92.

^f This Chair is called a *Cutting Stool*, *Cuckean* is a Whore.

fits the Conscience of the sick Person; and this is certainly the Duty both of the Priest and the sick Person, this needs no Proof; particularly when there is any imminent Danger of Death: For one may visit the Sick, without praying by and with them, or exhorting them, when there is no apparent Danger; for though Religion teaches us to be always ready, the Rubrick only requires it at the Approach of Death. But on that Occasion "The sick Person shall be moved to make a special Confession of his Sins, if he feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty Matter; after which Confession the Priest shall absolve him." This Absolution is followed by several Prayers; some for Children, some when their appears small Hope of Recovery, or at the Point of Departure, for Persons troubled in Conscience, &c. Before the last Corrections or Alterations made in the *English* Liturgy, the Sick were anointed but only on the Forehead and the Breast: At the Time of anointing, the Sign of the Cross was made upon the sick Person, and a Collect was read with relation to that *Unction*.

THE forementioned Absolution, given by the Priest to the sick Person with a Shew of Authority, is looked upon by the *Presbyterians* as an intolerable Abuse^e. They blame also several other Things in the said Visitation of the Sick, but they are only trivial Objections. "In Time of Pestilence, or other infectious Sickness, the Rubrick prescribes the often receiving of the holy Communion . . . When none of the Parish can be got to communicate with the Sick . . . for fear of Infection, upon special Request of the Diseased, the Minister only may communicate with him." Except that particular Circumstance, the Communion of the Sick is performed as follows: "If the sick Person be not able to come to Church, and yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his House, he must give timely Notice to the Curate, signifying also how many there are to communicate with him . . . and having a convenient Place in the House, with all Things necessary, so prepared that the Curate may reverently minister, he shall there celebrate the holy Communion . . . After a Collect, Epistle and Gospel, he proceeds to the Form of Communion before described . . . At the Distribution of the holy Sacrament, the Priest first receives himself, and after ministers unto them that are appointed to communicate with the Sick, and last of all, the sick Person. But if a Man, either by Reason of Extremity of Sickness . . . or for any other just Impediment, do not receive the Sacrament . . . the Curate shall instruct him, that if he truly repents of his Sins, and stedfastly believes . . . he does eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ, profitably to his Soul's Health, although he does not receive the Sacrament with his Mouth." The Alteration made by the last Reformers of the Liturgy in the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, is the leaving out the Rubrick, which ordered, that in case a sick Person desired to receive on a Day of publick Communion^h, *so much was set apart of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood as might serve the Sick and those who were to receive with him*: The Priest carried it, after divine Service, to the sick Person, and communicated him: If several Sick wanted the Communion, on a Day in which there was no publick Communion, the Priest set apart at the ministring to the first, as much as would serve the others who were sick, and carried it in the like Manner to them. The *Presbyterians* are endless in their Objections against this Sort of Communionⁱ;

^e See *Calderwood*, p. 643.

^h See Mr. *Downes's* Appendix, placed before *Sparrow's Rationale*, p. 171.

ⁱ *Calderwood*, p. 643.

what more contradictory, say they, than to order first, *that there must be a sufficient Number to communicate with the sick Person*^k, and at the same Time to allow the Minister alone to receive with the Sick, in a Time of Plague^l? What more like the Superstition of Private Masses? Besides, do not these domestick Communions withdraw the People from publick ones in Churches? Does not all this Pother make them set too high a Value on *Carnal Signs*?^m May not Hereticks abuse this Custom, and irregularly administer the Sacrament? But what the Puritans abhor most is, the Resemblance of this sort of Communion, to the *Vaticum* of the Catholics, which to them is rank Abomination.

AN old Rubrick says (or said heretofore) that when the sick Person is in the Agony the Bell must be rung, and when he is dead, with this Difference, that at the Time of the Agony it must only be toll'd, but after Death it must ring out. At the Toll of the Bell, says a jesting Puritanⁿ, the departing Soul may be recommended to the Mercy of God: But what is the ringing out for? To this Question no Answer is given, unless some mystical one: May be this Tolling and Ringing is left off, or only kept up in some particular Churches. Let that be as it will, we must now introduce the last Religious Ceremony of the *English* Liturgy, the *Burial of the Dead*. In the Order for that Service, it is noted first, "that it is not for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicated, or have laid violent Hands upon themselves." This is certainly the least Punishment which can be inflicted for the horrid Crime of Self-murder, tho' a^o modern Author seems to justify it, by attributing to it a great Share of the Courage shewn by the old *Romans*. All we can say to palliate the Crime and excuse the Guilty, is to look upon it as the Effect of one of those four great and dangerous Distempers, which^p are so common, and make such Havock amongst the *English*.

"THE Priests and Clerks, meeting the Corps at the Entrance of the Church-yard, and going before it, either into the Church, or towards the Grave, say, *I am the Resurrection of the Life* (*John* Chap. xi. Ver. 25.) &c." with some other Sentences of Scripture. In the Church some suitable Psalms are read or sung, with a Lesson adapted to that Ceremony. When they are come to the Grave, and are preparing every thing to put the Body into the Earth, the Priests and his Clerks say or sing, *Man that is born of a Woman*, &c. Earth is then cast upon the Body, and some Prayers are said, one of which is extremely shocking to the Puritans, because in it God is desired to grant "that *we with all those that are departed* in the true Faith . . . may "have our perfect *Consummation*^q and Bliss both in Body and Soul in . . . Glory." This they say is *praying for the Dead*; and to this Sense they turn all the Anthems and Prayers, said before and after the Body is put into the Earth. They wonder the Priest should be the first, or even one of those who throw Earth upon the Corps; is this becoming, say they, a Minister of the Gospel? Why not? Would they bring on again, that part of the Law of *Moses*, which forbad the *Levites* being pre-

^k To solve this Contradiction, it is alledged, that the Neighbours or Friends receiving with the sick Person, is only an Act of Charity, and in order to comfort them; not of Necessity.

^l A Constitution Ecclesiastical, published in 1603, seems to dispence the Priests from visiting, or giving the Communion to the Sick, in a Plague, or even upon a bare Suspicion of it. *Calderwood*, p. 649.

^m *Calderwood*, p. 648.

ⁿ *Calderwood*, p. 649.

^o See *Considerations sur la Grandeur & la D cadence des Romains*.

^p These four destructive Distempers are, the Scurvy, the Rickets, Consumptions, and hypochondriack Melancholy; Self-Murder is chiefly owing to the last-mentioned. We need not enlarge on the Heinousness of that Crime; even Pagans, and *Cicero* in particular, inveigh strongly against it.

^q *Calderwood*, p. 650; where he reads *Abolution*, instead of *Consummation*, as it is now read in that Office.

sent at a Funeral? May be they would. In *England*, as well as in other Countries of *Europe*, there are Sermons preached, and funeral Orations pronounced in honour of the Dead: This again the Presbyterians condemn, and it is the more blameworthy for not being universal; this Mark of Respect, useless to the Dead, but which so agreeably flatters the Vanity of the Living, is paid to the Rich, seldom if ever to the Poor. Such Discourses, says a Puritan¹, may be purchased for a Crown each, and the mercenary Minister, who to be sure has a good Stock of them ready at hand, for this low Price, gets up into a Pulpit, and instead of preaching the Word of God, runs out into the undeserved Praises of an Usurer, an old Fornicator, or a *Libertine*, who may be never was in a Church, or heard a Sermon, in his Life. People of common Sense set no greater Value upon, and give no more Credit to, the fulsome Panegyricks of a Funeral Oration, than to those of a Dedictory Epistle. Crosses upon Coffins, eating and drinking, giving Money or Victuals at Burials, granting Absolution after Death to Persons excommunicated, Dedications and Blessings of Church-yards, depriving those who are under Sentence of Excommunication, from being buried in them, are likewise much exclaimed against by the Puritans, who look upon all these Customs as vain Superstitions².

In the old Liturgy³ the Priest, throwing Earth on the Corps, used to say, *I commend your Soul to God*, &c. Two Collects were said, in which the Minister seem'd to pray for the Repose of the departed Soul⁴; the same was done in the Prayer which followed the short Litany. There was also a Communion Service appointed for Burials, at which some received the Sacrament.

AFTER this Account of the religious Part of Burials, we hope the Reader will allow us to make a short Digression, in favour of what may be called the *Civil Rite of Funerals*. The Print here annexed represents the Corps laid out, and the Interment: But this does not satisfy every Body's Curiosity. Most People require a Description more particular than can be expected from Prints; we shall endeavour to gratify them, by the Account given by an Eye-Witness, the so often-mentioned Author of *Memoires*, &c. As he wrote in 1698, it is not improbable, but in forty years, a Nation, which seems to vie with the *French* in Inconstancy, may have altered some of their Customs in that Point, we hope not many. "As soon as any one has breathed his last, says our Observator, the Minister of the Parish, and those who have in Charge to visit dead Bodies, must have Notice given them: This was ordered to be done, immediately after the great Plague which raged in *London* in the Year 1665, that it might be found out if any Distemper proved contagious, and proper Precautions taken to prevent its spreading. This Visit is commonly performed by two Women, the Clerk of the Parish receives their Attestation, and an Abstract of it is printed every Week, by which the Publick is informed, how many died in the Week, of what Distemper, or by what Accident. An Act of Parliament, made for the Encouragement of the Woollen Manufactory, ordains that all Corps shall be buried in Flannel . . . without any Allowance for Linnen; but the Flannel may be as fine as they think fit. . . . Those Shrowds are either bespoke or bought ready made, and most Linnen-Drapers have some by them of

¹ *Calderwood*, p. 248, 306, 642, and 650. Those Customs are, we believe, left off, or if they are still kept up, they are not so common as in that Presbyterian's Life-time.

² See *Dowson's Appendix*, before *Sparrow's Rationale*, p. 172

³ As by these Words, *We recommend to thy Mercy the Soul of our Brother*, &c.

⁴ *Memoires & Observations*, p. 129.

“ all Sizes and Prices. . . . The Corps being washed very clean, and shaved if it
 “ is that of a Man, whose Beard is grown in his Sickness, they put on it a *Flannel*
 “ *Shirt*, the Sleeves of which are ruffled and plaited, with another tufted Piece of
 “ the same Stuff, which covers the Opening of the Shirt upon the Breast
 “ The Shirt must be above half a Foot longer than the Corps when extended at full
 “ Length, that the Feet of the Deceased may be put into it as in a Bag; which
 “ when performed, it is tied with Woollen, so as to look like a Tuft: They add to
 “ this a Cap, with a large Chin-Cloth tied to the Cap, a Cravat and Gloves, all Wool-
 “ len . . . Some put a large Quantity of Bran at the Bottom of the Coffin; instead of a
 “ Cap, the Women have Head-clothes with a Forehead-cloth. Some Coffins are exceed-
 “ ing fine. When the Corps is in it, they make a second Visit, to see whether it is all in
 “ Flannel, and no Linnen, or even Thread, except Woollen, employ'd about it. The
 “ Body lies so three or four Days, and all that Time is allowed to
 “ get Mourning, and prepare for the Funeral. A List is drawn up of those who
 “ are to be invited to it, and Tickets are sent to them Before they set out,
 “ every one may go and look on the Corps, which is set upon two Supporters in a
 “ Room and a little square Piece of Flannel, which covers the Face, is
 “ then taken off. On these Occasions the Living are honoured by the rich Ap-
 “ pearance of the Ceremony. The Relations and chief Mourners are in a Room
 “ apart, the rest of the Company in other Apartments; the Coffin is nailed, or
 “ screwed, every one is presented with some Rosemary, which they carry to the
 “ Grave, and throw into it, upon the Coffin. Each drinks three or four
 “ Glasses of Wine, both before the Funeral Procession begins, and when they come
 “ back to the House, after the Burial Women, *says our Author*, seldom go
 “ to the Burial of a Man, nor Men to that of a Woman

“ Each Parish has Palls * of different Prizes, to let them out to the Under-
 “ takers: Some of black Velvet, some of black Cloth, bordered either with white
 “ Linnen, or Taffety, about a Foot long. This Pall is white when the Deceased is
 “ a Batchelor, a Maid, or a Lying-in Woman. It is so large, that it covers not only
 “ the Coffin, but likewise the Men who carry it upon their Shoulders, and still hangs
 “ low enough to be supported by the Pall-Bearers, either Men or Women, according
 “ to the Sex of the Person who is to be buried, and they have Gloves, Hat-bands,
 “ and sometimes Scarfs black or white given them: When every thing is ready,
 “ two Men, with long Staves † tipped with a large Head of Silver, go first, then
 “ the Minister of the Parish and the Clerk, who are immediately followed by the
 “ Corps and Pall-bearers, the chief Mourners and other Persons invited, two and
 “ two, close the Procession. Generally they go into the Church, in the middle of
 “ which the Body being placed upon two Trestles, a Sermon or a funeral Oration
 “ is preach'd, in Praise of the Deceased, or the common Instructions and Prayers
 “ appointed for that Occasion are said: If the Body is not buried in the Church,
 “ they carry it to the Church-yard belonging to it, and put it in the Ground before
 “ the whole Company, which seldom goes off till the Earth is again thrown in.
 “ . . . Then all the Persons invited go back in the same Order and drink again ‡.

“ People

* The Word *Pall* comes from the *Latin*, *Pallium*, a Cloak; and no doubt the *French* Word *Poêle*, which heretofore was spelt *Pouaille*, had the same Origin.

† The Account here given is what the middling sort of People observe, and from them, *says our Author*, we must learn the Customs of every Country.

‡ This drinking at Funerals bears some Resemblance with the *Epulæ Ferales* of the Ancients: But waving this Piece of Erudition, we cannot omit the odd Practice, so common in *England*, of drinking *Prosperity* to

“ People of Fashion are sometimes embalmed, and are laid for some Days, a Fort-
 “ night or more, on a Bed of State, and are carried in a Hearse to the Burying-
 “ place either belonging to the Family, or of which the deceased has made Choice.
 “ The Hearse is attended by several mourning Coaches.”

WE shall conclude this Dissertation, with some superstitious Practices which are mightily in vogue, amongst the vulgar Sort ; there are such in all Countries, and *England* is not exempt, tho’ it otherwise abounds with many bright Men, who handle all Subjects with a Freedom of Thought, which no other Part of *Europe* enjoys. This Liberty is universally admired, even in the *Fire and Faggot Countries** ; but as it is apt now and then to dazzle by its Paradoxes, in which it is like a Flash of Lightning ; on the other Side it cannot reach and instruct the ill disposed Minds of the Mob. We shall give an Account of those Customs without any other Order, than as they present themselves.

THE first is, what they relate concerning the Chair of the Kings of *Scotland*, that fatal Chair, which was looked upon as the *Palladium* of that Kingdom, and had the same Honours paid to it, as to *Relicks*. “ An ancient *Scots* Prophecy, they say, “ foretold, that whenever that Chair, on which the Kings of *Scotland* sat at their “ Coronation, should be transferred out of *Scotland*, the Kingdom should also be “ transferred with it.” ’Tis now at *Westminster*, and is made use of at the Coronation of the Kings of *England* ; what might we not say on this Occasion, of those miraculous Stones which delivered Oracles, established and strengthened Kingdoms, or drew down the choicest Blessings of Heaven upon particular Families or Persons ; if the narrow Bounds we have prescribed to ourselves allowed us to mention all the Wonders of that Kind, related by ancient Historians ? One of these Stones is inclosed in that Chair, it pronounced Oracles in *Ireland* ; the *Scots* took it from thence, and brought it to *Scone*, the usual Place where their Kings were crowned : In Process of Time the *Scots* lost it, and now it is at *Westminster*. It was, no doubt, a Heathenish Stone in the Times of the *Druids*, but the Monks made it Christian, or at least Jewish, and raised it to the Dignity of being that very Stone, which the Patriarch *Jacob* made use of [*Gen. xxviii.*] for a Pillow. *St. Thomas Becket’s* Relicks, the Drops of his Blood, still to be seen, the Viol used at the anointing of the King, so exactly Parallel to that other at *Rheims*, and given by the blessed Virgin to the said *St. Thomas Becket*, are not much valued by the Church of *England* ; so we shall omit them.

AT *Coventry* in *Warwickshire* they celebrate yearly a strange Festival, of which the Author of the *Memoires, &c.* gives the following Description, p. 72. “ In the Time “ of *Edward* the Confessor, *Godfrey* Lord of *Coventry* being highly displeased with “ the Inhabitants of that Town, took away all their Privileges from them, &c. “ They try’d all possible Means for the Recovery of their lost Liberty ; but with- “ out Success. Happily for them at last, they had Recourse to *Lady Godiva*, (so “ *Godfrey’s* Wife was called) and humbly beseeched her to intercede in their Behalf : “ she undertook it ; her first Endeavours were fruitless. . . . However she did not “ give over, and was so pressing with her Husband, that at last he promised to

the Church, or to the Memory of the Dead. Such was the whimsical Notion of some Heathens drinking the *Health of their Gods*. These and such like must be pledged (from the *French* Word *Pleger*) cost what will : They run generally upon *State Intrigues* or *Party Business* : And an *Englishman* might as safely declare himself openly a Traitor to the Party he has embraced, as to refuse drinking on these Occasions, even though he should alledge his want of Power to drink.

* Left our Readers should mistake the Meaning of *Faggot Countries*, we must let them know, it means those Countries in which Hereticks are condemned to be burnt. They are so called by the Author of *Biblioth. Angloise*, Tom. 14. Part the Second.

“ grant

“ grant her Request, upon one Condition she was to comply with. By *St. Matthew*, says she, I will do any thing not impossible, to deliver *Coventry* from the “ Slavery it groans under. Then by *St. Thaddæus*, answer’d *Godfrey*, you shall be set “ stark naked upon a *white Hackney*, and in that Condition you shall go through “ every Street in the Town. *Godiva* was shock’d at the Proposal, however, as she “ had taken an Oath to do whatever was not impossible, she accepted the Condi- “ tion, and having resolv’d to comply with it, an Order was published by Sound of “ Trumpet, enjoining every Body to keep at Home on such a Day and at such an “ Hour, to shut all their Doors and Windows whilst she pass’d by, under Pain of “ Death to be inflict’d on the Offenders. All obey’d except a Baker, who was pu- “ nish’d according to his Deserts. . . . Thus *Coventry* was freed by *Godiva*. In “ Memory of which that Lady’s Statue, richly adorn’d, and crown’d with Flowers, “ is yearly carried in a solemn Procession, with lighted Torches, and all the Marks “ of publick Joy and Acknowledgment. The Baker is also represented, at the “ same Window, and in the same Posture, in which he was taken up: The “ Master of the House is oblig’d to new-paint his Statue every Year, and to find a “ Wig and a Hat for it.”

THIS merry and jocular Feast may be match’d with three or four superstitious Customs, which are so low and gross, that we are almost ashamed to mention them: But the Account will divert some of our Readers, and after all, to become agreeable, they only want to be set off by the delightful Style of *Abbé de Choisy*, that celebrated Writer and Embellisher of Trifles. “ I have often taken Notice, (says “ the same Author of *Memoires & Observations*, &c. p. 192. and 411.) that a “ Horse-shoe was nailed on the Threshold of the Doors of the People of the lowest “ Rank; upon Enquiry into the Meaning of it, they usually answer’d . . . it was “ to hinder Wizards from coming into their Houses. They commonly laugh when “ they say it, yet are not in Jest; why should they take the Pains to nail this Piece “ of Iron at their Door, unless they believ’d that there is, or at least may be, some “ secret Virtue in this Practice; which brings to my Remembrance another Piece “ of Folly; the common People have a particular Regard for the Money which “ they call *Hansel*, that is, the Price of the first Thing they sell, they kiss it, spit “ upon it, and put it in a Pocket by itself: Again, they look upon it as a good “ Omen, to have about ones Face Spots upon which Hair grows, and take great “ Care of what Hair those Excrecences produce.” Some foolish Women and Children entertain also an extravagant Notion that they must eat a Piece of a Goose on *Michaelmas* Day, without which they imagine they shall be destitute of Money all the Year round: This deserves only Contempt, and it is not impossible, but its being slighted helps to keep up the Custom. The *Milk-Women’s Anniversary Feast*, (if it may be called so) furnishes us with another Instance of foolish Mirth. On the first of *May* and some Days following, they go in Ceremony to pay their Respects to all their Customers, they make Use of all the Ornaments which may become country Girls, Flowers, Ribbands, Garlands; they borrow Silver Tankards, Punch-bowls, Salvers, and all Sorts of Plate, this they tie with Ribbands, adorn with Flowers, and put it on their Heads instead of their Milk-pails; thus equipped they go from Door to Door, accompanied by a sorry Bag-piper, or some Fiddle-scraper, and there dance, in order to get some Money. How many religious Rites and Ceremonies have been invented for the same End! The *Spectator*, Tom. 5. justly complains of the prodigious Numbers of pretended *Bobemians* and Fortune-tellers which

swarm in *England*: And the *Tatler*, Vol. I. has a merry Story of three Women indicted for Witch-craft, and of the Parson's ingenious Explanation of their supposed Crimes.

WE must not omit our Neighbours, the *Welsh*, *Irish*, and *Scots*. On the first of *March*, dedicated to St. *David*, Patron of *Wales*, all the *Welshmen* wear a real Leek, or some Representation of that Root, in their Hats; because on the same Day their Forefathers, in a Battle against the *English*, used that Stratagem, to distinguish themselves, and know one the other in the Dark from their Enemies; yet the Kings of *England* are so obliging and complaisant to the *Welsh*, as to wear one themselves. As to the *Wild-Irish*, we have given an Account of their Superstitions in the second Volume of this Work, amongst the *Religious Ceremonies of Idolaters*. But the Christians of *Ireland* are remarkable for St. *Bridget's Perpetual Fire* at *Kildare*. It was with great Care kept burning in a Monastery of Nuns, called upon that Account the *Fire-House*. This was in Imitation of the Fire of the Goddess *Vesta*, who to be sure was represented by St. *Bridget* and her *Christian Vestals*. St. *Patrick's Purgatory* ^b is famous likewise. But St. *Magnus's Cup* is less known (this concerns the *Scots*) it was heretofore kept with great Respect and Veneration in one of the *Orcades*, the Inhabitants pretended to have it from St. *Magnus*, first Bishop of that Island; it was the Standard of the Ability of his Successors, if they could drink up at a Draught what Wine it contained; the poor Country People took it for a sure Sign of a fruitful Year. In the Province of *Munster* in *Ireland* there was a dangerous Fountain, which if any one touched with his Hand, there followed incessant rainy Weather, which nothing could put a Stop to, but a Mass said by a Virgin Priest, in a Chapel built near the Fountain. We shall pass over in Silence that *Mill* near *Ossory*, which could not grind Corn on a *Sunday*; the *hollow Stone*, in the Neighbourhood of *Cork*, which always furnished as much Wine as would serve to say Mass; those *Teals* which could never be taken, but in the Name of God and of St. *Colman*; and many other absurd Wonders, which ought to be buried in Oblivion.

^b See a more particular Account of this Purgatory in the second Vol. of *Superstitions anc. & modern*.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF
HIS MOST EXCELLENT
MAJESTY
CHARLES THE FIRST
BY
JAMES HALLAM

LONDON:
Printed by J. Sturges, at the
Black Swan, in St. Dunstons Church-yard,
near St. Dunstons Church, in the City of London.
1719.

DISSERTATION

Concerning the Ecclesiastical ^a DISCIPLINE of the PRESBYTERIANS.

THE Representations made by the Presbyterians in 1564, against subscribing to the Discipline of the Church of *England*, submitting to its Liturgy, or conforming to its Ceremonies, brought upon them the odious Appellation of *Puritans*. We call it an odious Name, it being highly probable, this Nick-Name was bestowed upon them with a malicious Intent, too common in religious Disputes, of comparing them, either to the *Manicheans*, who in the third Age were called (*Cathars*) ^b, or to the *Albigenses*, Hereticks of the twelfth Age, to whom the Orthodox of that Time gave the same Name. Whatever the Intention might be, the Presbyterians, far from taking it as a Reproach, are proud of, and glory in, that Appellation, as being a Proof of their earnest Desire, that the Discipline of the Church, and the religious Worship, may be *pure*, and without Blemish. “ ‘ When “ Arminianism appeared first, towards the End of King *James* the First’s Reign, “ those who remained fixed in *Calvin’s* Sentiments (about Grace and Predestination) “ were called ^d *Doctrinal Puritans*: But this Denomination became afterwards odious, “ by being made use of to defame those, *whose Life and Conversation was truly Saint-like*, and who endeavoured in their Devotions to follow *with a pure Heart* the Instructions of their Ministers. A *Puritan* therefore in those Days might have been “ defined: *A Christian severe in his Morals, Calvinist in his Doctrine, Non-conforming*, as to the Discipline and Ceremonies of the reformed Church of *England*, but not separated wholly from it, except in those Points.”

THE Presbyterians, who plead most for *Toleration*, pretend that they are divided from the Church of *England*, only in outward Appearance (since their fundamental Articles of Doctrine are essentially the same) and that their Division is advantageous to the Church and State. As to the Church and Religion ^e, say they, we keep up a laudable Emulation in the Clergy; we oblige them in some measure to comply, out of Jealousy, with the Duties which Religion and their pastoral Dignity requires from them. Discipline would soon grow remiss, and be neglected, if it was not prevented by our non-conforming Meetings, which if once suppressed, and every one forced to go to his Parish-Church to serve God, Ignorance and Laziness will prevail amongst the Clergy; Superstition, Blasphemy, and Atheism, amongst the Laity. As to the

^{a c d} See *Neal’s History of the Puritans*, in the Preface. But the Presbyterian Discipline is described at the End of the History.

^b *Cathars*, or *Pure ones*, from the *Greek Word Katharos*, *Pure*.

^c *Neal’s Preface to the Hist. of Purit.*

Government of the State, who has more warmly espoused the Defence of the Laws and Liberty of these Kingdoms? Who has more cheerfully contributed to bring over King *William III.* to settle him upon the Throne, and to the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line? As long as Non-Conformists are tolerated in *England*, it will never want good Patriots, and bold Assertors of publick Liberty. Far then from endeavouring to oppress the Presbyterians, or to force them to conform, or comprehending them in the Church; the publick Interest demands that their Complaints should be heard, the Causes of them removed, or at least that Dissenters be tolerated, and allowed the Enjoyment of their civil Rights and Liberties.

SUCH Speeches are common in *England*: Whereas in other Countries they dare not so much as entertain such Thoughts. What Sect, what Party dares be so bold, as to pretend, that the Welfare of the State, and even of the Religion by Law established, depends on its being *protected and maintained*? And that out of *Policy* one ought not to labour for their Re-union to the Church? And lastly, that without this Division *Tyranny would enslave the State, and Superstition destroy Religion*? In any other Kingdom, such Remonstrances would be thought the very height of Impudence, and the *Bigots*, if they found it out of their Power to burn effectually such Hereticks, before Men, would do it *mentally in the Sight of God*, by the most fervent Prayers the Bitterness of their Zeal could suggest.

WE must now present our Readers with a short Account of the Opposition made by the Presbyterians ever since the Year 1564, to the settling the exterior Worship appointed by the *English* Liturgy. If we give Credit to the *English* Historian of Puritanism, this religious Dispute was not without some singular and extraordinary Circumstances^f. In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Chancellor of the Bishop of *London* shewed to the Presbyterians a Priest of the Church of *England* in his sacerdotal Drefs; and from his Judgment Seat gravely directed this Speech to the Non-conforming Ministers: “ Ministers of *London*, ’tis the Will and Good-Pleasure of the Queen’s
“ Council, that you observe exactly *the Unity of the Apparel*^g, and that you conform
“ your Drefs according to the Pattern set before you of a Priest in his *Canonical*
“ Habit, viz. a square Cap, a Cassock, a *Tippet*^h (and a Surplice in his religious
“ Functions) subscribe to this Order by the Word *Volo*, and you who are against
“ it write *Nolo*; be brief, and do not argue.” This Discourse stopped the Mouths of the Opponents, the Author pathetically describes the Fright and Distress of these *poor Non-Conformists*, who thought *the Livery of Antichrist and the Mark of the Beast* was forcibly pressed upon them. Yet the greater Number were so weak as to consent, the rest would not be corrupted, and were declared unworthy to be Ministers. This shews a great want of Toleration in the Church of *England* of those Times, and a like Zeal in the cotemporary Presbyterians. In 1565 a Book was published to prove by the Holy Scripturesⁱ that no body could wear the pontifical Robes of the *Papish Church* without *consenting to Idolatry*. So worthy a Cause, and so conformable to the Gospel, could not want Martyrs. The Presbyterians reckon as such those who were either deprived of their Livings and Pensions, or thrown into Goal, or forced to go into a voluntary Exile, &c. The Year 1566 was the memorable *Epocha* of the Presbyterians Separation from the Church of *England*. Though some Ceremonies,

^f *Neal’s History*, &c. p. 211. and 215.

^g Who would not think the Essentials of Religion was the Unity aimed at?

^h Now called a *Starf*, and wore by Canons, Doctors, and Lords Chaplains.

the Surplice, and other episcopal Ornaments, happened to be what they most detested, yet many other Parts of the *English* Worship were offensive to them, and this is the Account which their Historian gives of them. ⁱ They disliked the Superiority which Bishops claimed over Priests, their Power seem'd too great, and their Pride was insufferable. The Distinction of Deans, Archdeacons, &c. displeased them. Discipline they thought too remiss. They could not bear with a Repetition of the same Prayers, not even of the Lord's Prayer; nor with the Lessons being so often interrupted by Responses, reading apocryphal Books, Festivals, the Pomp and Magnificence of the publick Service in Cathedrals, Musick in Churches, the Use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, Churching of Women, Godfathers and Godmothers, Confirmation, receiving the Communion kneeling, bowing to the Name of *Jesus*, nor with the Wedding Ring. We thought it convenient, if not necessary, to give at once a full View of their Complaints, though most of them have been mention'd in the foregoing Dissertation. It must not be forgot in this Place, that the Puritans maintain, with as much Steadiness and Zeal, as the Calvinists or any other Protestants, that inherent Power, which all of them allow to each Christian, of examining his Religion, learning and understanding it himself, and explaining it to others, according to the *private* Light he receives from God.

THE Presbyterian Meetings were treated as schismatical during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. The *Conventicles* were dispersed and broke up: (This is the Name given then ^k and ever since to all the Assemblies of Fanaticks and dissenting Sectaries) Those who were found present, were threatened, imprisoned or fined: This only served to raise the Presbyterian's Zeal to a higher Pitch; which is the natural Consequence of Persecutions on Account of Religion. They complained louder than before, ^l they mutually, and like Brethren, encouraged one the other, to refrain from hearing the Sermons of the Parish Priests, who, as they said, would not stand up in Defence of the Gospel, against those *Remains of Popery*, the Surplice, &c. One of them, more moderate in outward Appearance than the rest ^m, openly declared; that *indeed he could not say the Popish Ornaments and Ceremonies were defiled and impure*; yet by the Grace of God he was firmly resolved never to wear a *four Corner Cap*, or Surplice; because he could find no Decency or Edification in that Dress, which on the contrary was an everlasting Source of * Dissention in the Church of Christ. He further published it to the whole World, that he never would receive the Communion in a kneeling Posture, because it seemed to him *too Papistical*, and to bear too near a Resemblance with the *Adoration of the Host*. Such Flights are manifest Proofs of the subtil Evasions which Party Zeal will find out; such nice Scrupulosity which refuses to comply with outward Ceremonies, no ways opposite to sound Doctrine, furnishes us likewise with a convincing Argument to shew, That *Orthodoxy* which stands upon trifling Exceptions, and down-right *Superstition*, though they are two extremes, yet they are nearly ally'd, and Equally to be avoided.

In the Year 1572, according to the History of Puritanism ⁿ, whilst the *Conformists* used the *Puritans* with the utmost Severity, whilst those Disputes were the hottest, in which (if Credit is to be given to the Puritans) the *Conformists* gained the Victory, not by dint of Argument and Reason, but by superiour Force and Power; the first

ⁱ Neal, p. 235. and following.

^k The more moderate call them *Meetings* as if by Chance.

^{l m n} Neal, p. 246. 250. 301.

* On whom must the Guilt lye? Certainly on those who separated themselves on such trivial Pretences.

Presbytery, or first Presbyterian Church, was privately established at *Wandsworth*, about four Miles from *London*. The same Historian relates, that in 1576, the Ministers of the Puritans, held some Assemblies, in which they drew up a Form of Discipline peculiar to themselves. *Cartwright*, a zealous and learned Presbyterian, review'd it sometime after, and having^o put it in Order, by and with the Help of some other Ministers, he translated it from the *Latin* Original, and added a Preface, in 1584. This Work was sent to be printed at *Cambridge*, but the Archbishop of *Canterbury* ordered all the Copies to be seized, and condemned it to be burnt as factious and seditious. We shall extract from it what we shall say of the Presbyterian Discipline, but we think it necessary to premise the following Remarks concerning the Puritans.

1. THEIR OWN Historian gives them the Honour of setting the first Example of the Veneration and Respect with which the Sunday is still kept by the *English*. In 1595, one *Bound*, a Presbyterian Doctor, published a Treatise on the Sabbath^q, in which he endeavoured to prove, that Christians ought to abstain from all Sort of Work, and rest on Sunday, with as much Exactness and Regularity as the *Jews* did on the *Saturday*: As a Consequence of this Principle, he allow'd of no Recreation whatever on Sunday. This Book, says the Historian, was highly applauded by the People, and restored to its antient Dignity the Lord's Day, which was then generally profaned by the most indecent and shameful Diversions. The Puritans laid all those Disorders to the Charge of the Conformists, pretending they were good for nothing^r, but they themselves were the only Christians in *England*, who were scrupulously exact in religious Duties; on Sundays in particular, they distinguished themselves by publick and private Marks of Devotion. A Book which brought about such a glorious Change, deserved a better Fate, yet it was censured with great Severity; the Church of *England* Party accused it of paving the Way to a judaical Observation of the Sabbath, and of being wrote in direct Opposition to the Laws of the Land: At the last it was suppressed by Order of *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but this Condemnation only enhanced the Price, and made it be read with more Attention, and bought up with more Eagerness, and some few Years after, the Author reprinted it with Additions.

2. THE Doctrine of the *English* Church about Grace, Predestination, &c. seemed to favour *Calvin's* Opinions on that Subject, till towards the End of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth Age, the Divines began to 'soften, and in Process of Time, to lay aside, and overthrow the Opinions which had been established. *Arminianism* prevailing against the old System, *Calvin's* Divinity was look'd upon as antiquated and out of Fashion by the Conformists, who derided its Followers by the Appellation of *Doctrinal Puritans*^s. At the Beginning of these Disputes, the Memory of *Calvin* was so precious in *England*, that it would have been safer for any Man to wage War against all the Saints of the Christian Church, than against this single Apostle of the Reformers. But strange Alterations have happened since, and how far the *English* were sensible of the Blemishes of *Calvin's* Character, may be plainly perceived by

^o *Neal*, p. 449.

^p *Neal*, p. 577.

^q A rigid Presbyterian was so audacious as to say in one of his Books, that all the honest Men were in that Party, and that there was no Medium betwixt abolishing Episcopacy, and calling up the Pope out of Hell. See *Bayle's* Critical Dictionary, in the Article of *Amesius*.

^r *Neal*, p. 579.

^s See one of the foregoing Notes.

the Writings of a Priest¹ of the *English* Communion. Yet most People will own there is some kind of *Analogy* or Likeness betwixt the Severity of his Principles, and the Sourness of his Temper.

THE Zeal which the University of *Cambridge* shewed in his Defence, is a convincing Proof of their strict Adherence to his Doctrine. In 1595, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as may be guessed from the History of those Times, the *Articles of Lambeth* were published. We shall not enter into a Discussion of those knotty Questions², but only present our Readers with the first Article, which was this, "God has from all Eternity predestinated some Men to Life, and reprov'd (or condemn'd) the rest to Death." If an *Arminian* was to give a Paraphrase, or loose Explication of this Article, it would run thus: "God has predestinated some Men to be saved, (though they may often in their Lifetime commit such Sins as may deserve eternal Damnation³.) Others he has placed upon the Brink of a Precipice, not only without Strength enough to keep them from falling in, and by consequence reduced to an Impossibility of escaping the Danger; but even with a premeditated Design, to let them fall without affording them any Help." The Puritans were also engaged in a Dispute concerning Christ's Sufferings, and his descending into Hell.

3. AT last, towards the End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, Policy, say the Presbyterians, brought on a kind of Truce, between them and the Episcopal Churchmen, who had a Mind to court the Heir Apparent to the Crown, who was, we may say, born and bred a Puritan. The pleasing Prospect of being quite settled in the approaching Reign, and freed from the many Afflictions they had so long endured under Queen *Elizabeth*, occasioned much Joy amongst the Presbyterians: They little dream'd that *James* the Sixth of *Scotland* and First of *England*, would embrace the Church of *England's* Communion, out of Policy, Indifferency or Inconstancy. They presented to him, at his Accession to the Throne, what is called the *Millenary Petition*. They complain'd heavily of the insupportable Yoke they groan'd under, by being forced to submit to the *English* Worship and Discipline, to the Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Customs of Episcopacy. *James*, say the Assertors of Episcopal Authority⁴, was too wise to be impos'd upon by the Puritans, who aimed at nothing less than a total Subversion of the Church: But, if we believe the Puritans, *James*, blind both to his own and the Church's Welfare, espous'd the Episcopal Notions, which, they pretend, are *Papery in Disguise*; and that King had not Courage to withstand. His Partiality towards Episcopacy was such, that after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, wherein he behaved more like a Doctor or School Divine, than as became a King; after hearing the strongest Arguments in Favour of the Presbyterians, he plainly told the latter⁵, that if they had no better Reasons to alledge, he was determin'd, either to make them conform, or to clear the Land of them.

4. To give in few Words a true and full Character of these first Presbyterians, we shall borrow from their Historian the Description he gives of them. He says they bore with all possible Patience and Moderation, the Haughtiness and unjust Treatment of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Tho' they were so severely dealt with in the long

¹ See Mr. *Downes's* Appendix, before the *Rationale* of Dr. *Sparrow* Bishop of *Norwich*, p. 177.

² Some of the Clergy think the Laity ought not to meddle with Controversy; but St. *Peter* tells them they ought to be ready to give an Account of their Faith.

³ The second Article says, the Will of God alone saves them, and the fifth, that the Spirit of God is never extinguish'd in the Predestinate.

⁴ See Mr. *Downes's* Appendix, &c. before *Sparrow's* *Rationale*, &c.

Reign of *Elizabeth*, they preserved an inviolable Fidelity to her; they used no other Argument to defend their Cause, except Scripture Passages, no Weapons but Prayers and Tears. Their Abhorrence of the religious Customs of the Church of *England*, was solely founded on their *Popish Origin*, the least Shadow of which fired their Zeal. This they freely owned. If they had not seen Surplices wore by Popish Priests, they probably would not have expressed, or even conceived so great an Aversion for that Dress: All Things considered, the Puritans were the most courageous Protestants in the Nation, steady *Calvinists*, vehement and pathetic Preachers, and bold Assertors of the Protestant Cause. So far is said in their Praise. But the same Author blames them likewise, yet sparingly, and with Tenderness. He owns, that whilst they so carefully avoided one Extreme, they run the Risk of falling into the other, that their burning Zeal in Favour of the new Form of Discipline might have betray'd them^a, had it been countenanced by the Laws. He further acknowledges, that the Presbyterians Notions and Tenets were dark and confused, as to what concerned the Rights of Mankind about Religion and Civil Society. Those Ideas, as they were taken up from, and had a near Affinity with the *Jewish Theocracy*, could not be put in Practice at a Time, and amongst Men, who were so far from being under the immediate Government of God. Besides these Defects, they were guilty of some others very opposite to the Spirit of the World, and rendered them less fit for Society. Their Severity was excessive, they censured too freely and too sharply the disorderly Life and Conduct of Men in the highest Dignities: The least Faults, at what Age soever committed, were looked upon by them as capital Crimes. However, in all their Deportment, they expressed a deep Sense of the Respect and Veneration due to Religion; their Prayers were continual; Oaths, and every indecent or too free Discourse were carefully avoided by them; a strict Observance of the *Sunday*, going twice on that Day to the Meeting, with a Bible under the Arm, was in those primitive Days of Presbytery, a sure Mark to know a Puritan by. *Saturdays* also were spent in Prayer, rehearsing Sermons, teaching Children their Catechism; and every Day of the Week had set Times for Devotion. We shall proceed no further in the Account of their other Perfections summed up by the said Historian, who paints in lively Colours the *golden Age* of that Sect. All these good Qualities made no Impression upon the Episcopal Churchmen, they never mentioned the Presbyterians, without the odious Epithets of *Precisians*^a, *Schismatics*, *Enemies to God and to the State*.

5. If we again credit the Puritans, all the Vices opposite to the above-mentioned Virtues, were found in the Church of *England's* Communion. Their Ignorance was little inferior to that of the *Romish* Clergy: Most of their Priests could scarce read the Books of Common-Prayer and of Homilies. In the Country, and Places distant from *London*, the People, for want of due Instruction, retained Popish Errors, and were not much better than Heathens^b. Every Ecclesiastick or Lay-man who was remarkable for Piety, for strictly *keeping the Sabbath* (Sunday) *holy*, or who openly declared himself an Enemy to Prophanation and Popery, was sure to be branded with the Appellation of Puritan. The Bishop's steady Adherence to, and enforcing of outward Ceremonies, hindered the Progress of the Reformation, and

^a The Meaning is, that probably they would not have tolerated any other Discipline: *Scotland* is a convincing Proof of it.

^b *Precisian* was a new coined word to ridicule the Puritanical Scrupulosity, which they so much valued. *Neal*, p. 597.

^c *Neal*, p. 600.

Popery not being sufficiently preach'd against, regained Ground : *Elizabeth* offended also the Puritans by her Toleration of the old Religion : That Princess loved the Stateliness and Splendor of Ceremonies, she would not leave off some Customs^c condemned by the Reform'd. This made the Puritans^d believe, and publicly accuse her of being inclined to Popery, tho' she openly was for a Medium, which might reconcile to her Scheme both *Papists* and *Puritans*.

6. THE violent Proceedings against the Presbyterians under *Elizabeth*, did not produce the desired Effect, nor reunite them to the Established Church ; on the contrary, their Minds were still more alienated from and imbittered against it. At the same time a new Sect appeared amongst them, still more *pure* and more severe than the rest. Those Refiners on *Puritanism* were known in 1581 by the Name of *Brownists*, which they inherited from *Robert Brown* a *Norwich* Preacher. An unruly, rough and fiery Temper furnished this pretended Reformer of the Reformation itself, with all the Qualifications requisite to carry religious Disputes to the highest Pitch : His chief Talent consisted in violent and furious Invectives against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* : He and one *Harrison* travell'd up and down throughout the Kingdom, inveighing bitterly in their Sermons against Bishops, Ordinations, and Ecclesiastical Courts : They formed a considerable Party, which was soon dispersed by the diligent and watchful Management of the Clergy and Ministers of State. *Brown* and his Adherents fled to *Middlebourg* in *Zealand* ; settled there a new Church : But this rigid Preacher soon grew out of Conceit with this way of Life, came back to *England* in 1589, forsook the Severity of his Principles, and embraced the other Extreme. The Party kept its ground, notwithstanding this Desertion of their Leader, and the rigorous Prosecutions, by order of the Government, against them and their Ministers, two of which were put to Death in 1583, for publishing Libels^e against the *English* Liturgy. In the Year 1592 *Barrow* became their Chief, and from him they had the Name of *Barrowists*, and their Number so far encreased that it amounted to twenty thousand^f, and amongst them People of Note and high Renown. They were also called *Separatists*, because they absolutely rejected all Communion with the established Church. They set up to themselves Ministers, Readers, Elders and Deacons, who were all Laymen, except the Ministers. They baptized Children by a slight Asperision, admitted no Godfathers or Godmothers at the Christening. When the *Barrowists* intended to perform the Communion Service, some white Bread Loaves were brought in, and set upon a Table ; the Minister blessed them by a short Prayer, broke them, distributed part of them to some of the Communicants, and the Deacons went on with giving the Communion to the rest, some of whom received it sitting, some standing ; the same Order was observed in the Distribution of the Cup : The Office concluded with singing a Canticle or a Psalm, and making a *Collection* for the ^g Poor. Whoever desired to be admitted amongst them, was to make the following Declaration in the Presence of the Brethren, the first time he came to their Assembly. " I declare that I will walk with you as long as you walk in the way of the Lord ; " and as far as the Word of God will warrant it to be requisite." These Rules were

^c Images, Crosses, &c.

^d *Neal*, p. 601.

^e In order to excuse this Act of Severity, it was alledged, that those Libels tended to the Overthrow of the Constitution, denied the Queen's Authority. &c.

^f *Neal*, p. 543. out of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Speech in Parliament.

^g The *Calvinists* call it a *Collect*, which being equivocal, we have used the other plain Expression.

agreed upon by them, in a Congregation which they held at *London* in a Brother's House, in 1592. This was not the only one, several others were formed; but being at last discovered, those who were taken up underwent an Examination, in which they owned, that for several Years they had met together every Sunday: at five in the Morning in the Fields during the Summer Season; at a Brother's House in Winter; that they spent the whole Day in Prayer, and expounding the Scripture; that they dined together like Brethren, and after Dinner assented themselves; and if any Money remained after paying for their Meal, it was given to relieve the Brethren who were detained in Prison: That they did not say the Lord's Prayer, esteeming it to have been given by Christ, rather as a List of what they were to ask, than as a Form of Prayer to be used. Their Enemies, says the Historian, laid to their Charge many extravagant Opinions concerning Baptism, Marriage, and the Ministerial Functions being performed by Laymen, &c. Such is and will ever be the dismal Consequence of Party-Spirit in Religious Disputes: it never admits of any Toleration, and the poor *Barrowists*^b were treated accordingly. *Barrow* their Chief was hanged,ⁱ and with him another Minister of the same Sect. They had desired a Conference with the Episcopal Clergy, which was refused for some Reasons which are only remarkable for being equivocal, and suiting every Party whatever, when it is the strongest,^k and can back them by Violence.

WE must now take a full View of all the Tenets of the *Barrowists* or *Brownists*: their Faith was the same with the Church of *England*, yet they did not own it to be the true Church, nor its Ministry lawful; they called the Discipline of it Popish and Anti-Christian, they denied the Validity of the Sacraments when administer'd by *English* Priests, and hindered their Adherents from being present at the *English* Liturgy; they rejected likewise the Communion of any Church, tho' separated from the Church of *Rome*, which did not conform to theirs. Each of their Congregations was a little Republick, independent from any other, and standing by itself; being of opinion that the Church Government ought to be *Democratical* or popular. Those who became Profelytes to their Principles, made first a publick Confession of Faith, then signed a kind of Covenant by which they enter'd into an Obligation of conforming to the Gospel according to the Rules and Articles agreed on and expressed in the said Covenant or Confederacy. The whole and sole Power of admitting or excluding the Members of those small Ecclesiastical Democracies, with the Decision of Controversies, resided in the *Confraternity* (we cannot give a more convenient Name to their Assemblies, since they called one the other *Brother*, as the *Waldenses*, *Bobemians*, &c. had done before.) In these Assemblies they elected their Ministers, Elders, Deacons, &c. with the Imposition or Laying on of Hands, preceded by Fasting and Prayer. Their Priesthood, or rather Ministerial Dignity, required no Ordination, and was not an *indelible Character*. The Minister received from the *Confraternity* Authority to preach and administer the Sacraments, &c. and as every thing was decided by Plurality of Votes^l, their Office might be taken from

^b The same Author relates, that one of their Ministers being pressed to conform, and alledging that he could not, without incurring the Guilt of Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, was answered by the Judge, "Go to Church, obey the Queen, and be a Dissembler, a Hypocrite, or a Devil if you will." What Tyranny! what is become of Christian Sincerity and Charity! Party-Spirit minds not the Gospel, yet reigns in every Christian Communion.

ⁱ They suffered, says the Historian, with great Constancy, praying for the Queen.

^k *Neal*, p. 554. Twelve Reasons are given, one of which is, that a Religion established by Act of Parliament, ought not in Justice to be subject to the Examen of any inferior Authority.

^l A Modern Author of *Discourses concerning Religion and Government* is of opinion, that to avoid Tyranny, Priests should become Laymen, and Laymen Priests by turns. To prevent Cabals, and false Respect, he is for abolishing the Distinction of Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, &c. *Discourse 9 and 10.*

them, they might be deposed, and reduced to the State of Laymen, by the same Power and Method by which they had been elected.

WHEN a Congregation was so numerous, that all the Brethren could not meet conveniently in one Place, they divided themselves, or rather from the first, a second issues forth, equally free, equally independent, chuses its own Ministers, becomes Sister to its Mother, of equal Condition and Dignity, and as such they are mutually to assist one the other. For, as we have said before, no Church had any Right over another, and Advice and Remonstrances were the only means left them; unless some one of the Churches happened to swerve from the Rules of Christianity as settled among them, or to neglect and forsake those Tenets which they looked upon as fundamental: In that case, if that Church would not come back to its Duty, and submit to the Remonstrances and Condemnation of the Brotherhood, the other Congregations separated themselves from that particular Assembly, and owned it no more as a Church of Christ.

THE Power of *Brownist* Ministers was reduced to narrow Bounds. The Minister of one Congregation could not baptize or give the Communion in another; they had no set Form of Prayer; a *Brother*, tho' a Layman, might *prophecy* in the open Assembly. The *Brownists* gave the name of Prophecy to the Exhortations given by word of Mouth. After Sermon it often happened, that a Brother proposed some Question about Religion, and the Reasons he had for doubting; they held Conferences amongst themselves on the Subject which had been handled in the Sermon. Each Assembly was independent in its Censures; the supreme Power being lodged in each of those small Ecclesiastical Commonwealths, they had neither Classes, nor Convocations, nor Ecclesiastical Commissioners, nor Synods nor Councils.

THE Reasons good or bad which they alledged for their separating themselves from every other Church, chiefly from that of *England*, were these: The Laws of the Kingdom, and the Authority of the Queen, have introduced, they said, many Innovations into the Church, and added to the Religion established by Christ, several Customs which cannot be maintained with any colour of Justice. They moreover insisted, that the Religious Worship was disfigured by palpable and shameful Errors; that those Additions, Innovations and Errors were pressed upon Consciences, as if they were essential and necessary Articles; that Persecution being an infallible Mark of a false Church, that of *England* could not be true, since it was a persecuting Church. Finally, the whole *Hierarchy* and Ecclesiastical Government was so corrupt and defiled, that they thought it impossible to reform it, and therefore found it easier to settle a new Form of Government, than to mend the old. In consequence of those Principles, they took up a Resolution to come as nearly as they could to the Administration of the Church under Christ and his Apostles. But all their Endeavours produced only some odious Pharisaical Distinctions, whereas they ought to have tolerated, and supported with Christian Charity and Patience those Churches whose Communion they rejected.

IF we followed blindly the Compilers of Catalogues of Sects and Religions, we might without much Difficulty encrease the number of the various Branches which sprouted out of *Puritanism*. To these *Brownists* and *Barrowists*, for example, which, as has been proved, made up but one Sect, we should add, according to the Author of *Memoires & Observations sur L'Angleterre*^m, the *Independents*, who afterwards

^m *Memoires*, p. 367.

closed in with the *Presbyterians*; but 'tis evident that the *Brownists* were hid under that Mask. Another Authorⁿ, not content to distinguish the *Puritans* from *Presbyterians*, invents out of his own fertile Brain another Sect of *Predestinarians*; and again another, whom he calls, by way of Ornament, and to set a Gloss upon it, the *Anointed of England*. This Sect, says he, was founded by one *Wright*; the *Anointed* believed that none were guilty of Sin, except those who would not receive their Doctrine, which they called the Doctrine of Truth. This the Author relates upon the Credit of *Saunders* a good Man, but a very partial Writer; and 'tis plain this Opinion is but a false Consequence, drawn from the Principles of the *Brownists*. These *Anointed* were also called *Millenarians*, because they believed that Christ would come again upon Earth, and reign a thousand Years. In short, this Fanatical Appellation of *Anointed* was only another Name of the *Millenarians*, of whom we must now give the Reader some Account.

THE Opinion of Christ's reigning a thousand Years upon Earth, took its Rise from the first Ages, it has often been renewed since: But the ingenious Author of *The Theory of the Earth, both before and after the Deluge*^o, has set it in the clearest Light. The famous *French* Protestant Divine who published his own Visions and Prophecies in 1686 and 1687, under the Title of *Prophecies Accomplished*, endeavoured likewise to prove a Fifth Monarchy, and the Reign of a thousand Years. Then, says he^s, and not till then, Christ will truly reign upon Earth; it will begin at the Conversion of all Nations, and of the *Jews* in particular, to the Faith of Christ, or rather, as the Fall of Antichrist will go before this Conversion, the thousand Years may begin to be computed from his Destruction. Our pretended Prophet adds, *that probably God will reckon the thousand Years from the Event*. In the Year 1686 he made a Computation of Antichrist's Reign, and^s tho' he found some Difficulty in determining the precise Moment in which it should end, *because God in his Prophecies is not an exact Observer of Chronology, and a Prophet does not regard a few Years more or less*. At last he settled *the Fall of this Antichristian Empire, to happen in the beginning of the eighteenth Century, and according to all Appearance be-*

ⁿ *Jovet*, tom. 1 & 2. of his *History of all Religions*. *Jovet* is as bad as *Ross* and *Saunders*.

^o *Thom. Burnet*, in his *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, pretends that before the Deluge the Earth was smooth, without any Hills, that it was hardened by the Sun, and contain'd within its capacious Womb, that great Abyss of Water, which caused the universal Deluge; the Waters bursting the Earth, by the extremest Rarification of the Fire which was in the Center. This broke the Earth into Pieces, and spoiled the Order and Economy of it. Hills and Mountains, Vallies and deep Caverns, were then formed, and are a lively Representation of the Ruins of a City destroyed by a violent Earthquake. The Air of our Atmosphere suffered by this Dissolution. All Nature was corrupted; the Air lost its Purity, the Earth its first Vigor, the Fruits of the Earth their Strength, by the Decay of Primigenial Juices. Man's Life, which was of such Length before the Deluge, was much shortened. The World being unequally warmed by the Rays of the Sun, the Variety of Seasons which were not necessary in the old World, were established by Almighty God, as being absolutely requisite for the ruinous State of our Earth, &c. Such was the first Revolution by the Deluge: A second will in due time be brought about, by a violent Eruption of the above-mention'd Central Fire, an astonishing Drought will be the Fore-runner of it; the Body of the Earth being dried up, and becoming spongy and porous, the Central Fire will transpire through all its Parts, and set it all at once in a dreadful Blaze. Rivers, Lakes, Fountains, the Seas and the Ocean itself, will be dried up first; and the Places heretofore occupied by them, will then be burning Lakes of Fire and Sulphur. This universal Conflagration will serve to purify the Earth, which will be restored to its Primitive Form, and become smooth and even as at the first; and we ourselves shall be restored to the primigenial Purity of the old World. *Burnet* proves this Change from the first Verses of the fortieth Chapter of *Isaiah*, and the 4th and 5th Verses of the third Chapter of *St. Luke's Gospel*. The Seat of Antichrist will be first consumed, and he himself destroy'd by Christ's fiery Garments: Eclipses and Earthquakes will be the Forerunners of this Revolution, which will crush all the Enemies of Christ, who will reign upon Earth with the Saints; these, according to the repeated Promises of the Divine Spirit, *will possess the Earth*; whereas in this Life they suffered Afflictions, and by consequence reaped not the Effect of those Promises. The Reign of a thousand Years will be their Sabbath, or Day of Rest; after having work'd (that is been persecuted) during the other six Days of the Week; for our ingenious Author thinks, that this World (or Earth) is to last as many thousand Years, as there are Days in the Week.

^p *Jurieu*, tom. 2. p. 216 and 217. of *Accompl. des Prophet*

^s The same Author. p. 52. and following.

tween 1710 and 1715. This Book inclined most of the *French Protestant Refugees* to become *Millenarians*, and great numbers of them flattered themselves with the Hopes of out-living *Antichrist*, and of enjoying the first *Millenarian Pleasures*. Before this Author published his Work, *Comenius* had with no better Success fixed the Beginning of the thousand Years to the Year 1672. These two Prophets died opportunely enough to avoid being ocular Witnesses of the Mistakes in their Computations. Mr. *Whiston* is as singular in his Notions, and still more unsuccessful in his Apocalyptical System and Computation, than his Brethren and Predecessors; for he has out-lived by many Years the time which he had fixed for the Destruction of *Antichrist*, and beginning of the thousand Years, viz. the tenth of *March* Old Style, of the Year 1714.

JURIEU writing in 1686, flattered the *Jews*; what he says of them in his two first Volumes must not be taken literally, since he has complained himself that his Meaning had been misrepresented; but in the Sequel of his Prophecies, which may be supposed to have been composed to clear up former Objections; he says of them, that they shall all meet again * in the Land of *Canaan* in the eighteenth Age, but not till they are converted to Christianity; not by way of Conquest, but by the voluntary and liberal Concession of other Christian Nations: Then they will rebuild *Jerusalem*, and become themselves the living Temple of the Lord, and the most glorious and exalted of all the Nations of the fifth Monarchy (of a thousand Years); because the Messiah was born and had his Origin from them, &c. This Superiority is to consist in Order and Rank, not in Power and Command over the rest; the most extraordinary Gifts of Nature and Grace, the most excelling Prophets will be conferred upon, and reside amongst them: In the universal Church, the *Jewish* will be as the elder Sister, that of the *Gentiles* as the younger. In this long and happy Reign the Divine Worship and Religion will be uniform, with one Spirit, and a perfect Union (by consequence there will not be found amongst them any passionate or cholerick Controversist, always ready to disturb the publick Peace, by finding out detestable Heresies in the most harmless Opinions of his Brother. Divines.) Finally, The *Jews* are to lay down and cast off that superstitious Contempt for all other Religions, which is so common amongst them; and of which Christians of all Communions and Denominations are so often guilty.

LONG before the above-mentioned millenary Authors, several Protestants had embraced the same Opinions, and it seems there was some Connection betwixt the Notions of the Reformed, and of the Reign of a thousand Years. The Protestants said to one another, and openly preached in their Pulpits, that by the Reformation they separated themselves from *Antichrist*. Hatred made them wish his Destruction, and the Heat of Dispute raised their Hopes and Expectation of it; they searched the Scriptures to find out some Ground for this; the Prophecies and chiefly the Apocalyptic or Book of *Revelations*, furnished them with what they thought proper Materials. The ancient *Chiliasists* argued as the modern ones; both had their *Antichrists*; both flattered themselves with the same sure Prognosticks of his Destruction; some of both, who were more spiritual, pretended that the Pleasures of that glorious State should be only spiritual, whilst the rest, otherwise inclined, expected to enjoy carnal Satisfaction. Of all Protestants, none have more willingly and openly espoused

* The thousand Years begin at that Period of Time. See p. 79 and following, of the Sequel of the Accomplishment of Prophecy.

that Opinion, than the Calvinists and Presbyterians^f; the Millenarian System ought therefore in Justice to be attributed to them. On the same account, we must rank in the same Class the *Sabbatarians* or *Seventh-day-Men*, whom we have mentioned before^g in that part of this Work which treats of the Customs and Ceremonies of the *Jews*. Most of the Millenarian Tenets are laid to the Charge of those Sabbatarians, who are but few, and not much taken notice of; and their Devotion for the Sabbath may without much Difficulty be reconciled with the Reign of a thousand Years. Several *Chiliasm* Writers have called this Reign in a Mystical Sense, *The Great Sabbath*; they have searched and found out many notable things in the number *Seven*, which is that of the Sabbath: Such as God's Praises sung by the Royal Prophet seven times a Day; the just Man's Falling and Rising seven times; the seven mortal Sins mentioned in most Catechisms; the Command of Christ to forgive Injuries seventy times seven; his chusing and sending before him seven times ten Disciples. Lastly, to shorten this Account of the mysterious Significations of this Number, several have thought it a particular Consecration of it, that God himself chose to rest on the seventh Day. What glorious Types might not such Interpreters find in the Number *Thousand*? The Author cited in the Margin, has racked his Imagination^h upon that Subject.

WE do not intend to follow the Example of *Ross*, *Jovet*, and other such Authors, who multiplied Sects and Heresies without Number or Reason. Those Writers would probably make a particular Sect of those who were called *Congregationists*ⁱ, who are the same as the *Independents*, the *Brownists* or *Barrowists*, as appears evidently by the Articles which they drew up about Doctrine and Discipline, in the Year 1691. Neither would they leave out the *Cameronians*, so named from their Ringleader *Archibald Cameron*, a violent *Scots* Puritan Country Minister, and an inveterate Enemy to the Royal Family. This Fellow and his Adherents, separated themselves from the other Presbyterians, upon a Difference in Opinion concerning Liberty of Preaching, which *Charles* the second, after his Restoration, had granted to the Ministers of that Party. The *Cameronians* insisted that such a Leave granted by the King in an Affair purely Ecclesiastical, strongly proved and established his Supremacy in the

^f There have been, and may be still, many Millenarians amongst the Presbyterians of England. In France *Amiraud*, *Launay* and others, did not want Followers in the same Opinion. In Holland *Cocceius* has explained the Prophecy about *Gog* and *Magog*, of *Antichrist* and *Papery*, and Christ's Kingdom upon Earth. *Witsius*, *Alting*, &c. are reckoned amongst *Cocceius's* Disciples.

^g See tom. first, about *Jews* and *Catholics*.

^h *Bungus* of Bergamo wrote a Book, to which he gave the Title of *Numerorum Mysteria*, wherein he pretends that the number *Thousand* is the Cube of Eternity, that it is a Figure and Type of Heavenly Perfection, that it denotes the hope of Life Everlasting, represents Heaven, belongs to Christ in a particular manner, as being a most perfect Number. To be sure such refined Allegories could not escape the Authors or Followers of the Millenarian System.

ⁱ Once more we must repeat here, that ignorant or deceitful Writers have, under different Names, made three or four distinct Sects of only one in reality. *Congregationists*, *Independents*, *Brownists*, *Barrowists*, are but one Flock, under various Denominations, which endeavour to keep in the *Skeppfold of the Lord*, without pretending to exclude absolutely the other Flocks; provided they are out of the *Pale of the Romish Church*. *Lewis Duncanson* wrote a Book in favour of the *Independents*, which he entitled, *Conformité*, &c. printed at London in 1680. He published it as an Instruction to his Brethren the *French Refugees*, most of whom condemned the *Independents* without knowing them. That Author pretends, that of all Ecclesiastical Forms of Government, that of the *Independents* is the most reasonable, "comes the nearest to the Conduct of the Apostles, and their immediate Successors; . . . and is the easiest to be reconciled with Monarchical or any other Civil Government, as no ways interfering with, or usurping any part of their Jurisdiction, &c." Their Name has been, he says, the chief Occasion of their being censured. "The word *Independent* seems to infer a settled Aversion, and want of Submission to Superiors, which Character they do not deserve, as the 24th Chapter of their Confession of Faith clearly proves. . . . all their Pretensions amount only to this, that the Civil or Ecclesiastical Magistrates, in religious Disputes, have no Power. . . . from the Gospel, to force or deprive of Liberty those who hold the fundamental Articles, and are willing to let others serve God in their own way: In a word, says he, their Name of *Independents* signifies only that they are separate Congregations, without depending on one another, or on Synods, for Doctrine or Discipline."

Church. They refused to accept of it, and not only made a Schism on that Occasion, but they even rebelled against the King, pretending he had incurred Excommunication, and had lost his Right to the Crown. However the *Cameronians* were reunited to the Presbyterian Kirk of *Scotland* in the Year 1690.

THESE are the most remarkable Particulars concerning the Presbyterians, and those who derive their *Origin* from them. We shall now entertain our Readers with a short Abstract of their Discipline, which we shall call the *Puritan's*, to conform ourselves exactly to the Appellation given them, and to the *Idea* imprinted by it on our Minds.

An Abstract of the DISCIPLINE of the PURITANS.

THEY require a Call, or Vocation to the Ministry, as an essential Point : but forbid at the same time to get Admittance into it by Solicitations, Cabals, or violent Methods. When a *Brother's* Call is determin'd in a lawful Manner, and he is chosen to be Minister for one Congregation, he is not permitted to *fly* to another. He is tied to that first spiritual Spouse, from whom nevertheless he may be divorced, but not without her previous Consent.

THE Person so called, is obliged above all things to subscribe to the Profession of Faith, to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church : Before his Election, he must produce an *Attestation* of a good Life and Conversation, by which it may appear, that he has in *all things consented* to the Doctrine of the *Puritans*, has not read *Heretical Books*, nor employed his Time and Thoughts on vain empty Speculations, Paradoxes, or seeming Contradictions, and fruitless or trifling Enquiries. He must likewise be publicly examined on the chief Articles of Discipline, the most material Points of Divinity, and upon Scripture. The Examiners chuse themselves the Passages which he is to explain, and this they are allowed to do as often as they think fit. The Duties and Charge of the Ministerial Functions are strongly represented to him, and the Obligation he will lie under, to prefer the Glory of God to any human, or temporal and private Interest ; to give Edification to the Church, to adhere stedfastly to *sound Doctrine*, that is to the received Tenets and Customs of the Congregation for which he is to be chosen, and which prepare themselves for that important Choice by Prayer and Fasting.

THE Minister of one Church or Congregation, is allowed to preach in another ; but not without the Consent of the first, or absolute and urgent Necessity.

THE Order of Presbyterian Service, is much the same with the Calvinistical Method. First a Psalm, or Part of one, is sung ; all the Psalms are sung in order from first to last in the Course of the Year ; then a short Exhortation is made, by which the Faithful are prepared for the Prayer, which follows and ends with the Lord's Prayer. After this a Sermon is preached, both Parts of which are summed up in another Prayer, which tends also to represent to Almighty God the various Wants of the Congregation ; and to draw down his Blessing upon the Church and State, &c. This is likewise ended with the Lord's Prayer, after which the Assembly is dismissed, with a Blessing which concludes the whole Ceremony. The Ornaments which they think most essential to a Sermon, and recommend chiefly to their Preachers, are a clear, solid and pure Doctrine ; convincing Proofs drawn from Scripture alone ; that the Subject be applied suitably to the particular Circumstances of the Times, Places, and State of the Church, &c. They discountenance

all Enquiries which are apt to please Curiosity, or to breed Dissentions, &c. All Citations of Texts, from Apocryphal Books, are to be rejected; and those only admitted which are to be found in the Canon of Scripture, chiefly in the New Testament. The Minister must carefully avoid all *Novelties*, his Discourse must be plain, proportioned to the Capacity of the Audience, and accompanied with a grave Deportment. The Sound of the Voice and the Action, must not be either too high, or too violent and sudden. There are in our Days some Calvinistical Congregations, in which this limber and pliant Flexibility of the Body may be liked by some high-flown Coquets, who pretend to Devotion; or by some half Christian, half Libertine Fops, or such-like Persons, who place a Sermon and a Comedy upon a level; and consider them both as Amusements, which differ one from the other only as to the Subject: But certainly this Agitation of the Body can never be a Proof of the Preacher's Devotion, or that his Soul has acquired such a Share of Spiritual *Flexibility*, as to receive and feel all the Impressions of those Truths, of which he is to persuade his Audience.

Two Sermons are to be preached on each Sunday, and if possible neither is to last above an Hour. Catechising is also prescribed; but as all the Faithful are not indow'd with equal Capacities, two sorts of Catechisms are appointed; the one of a larger Extent, and which enters more into Particulars; the other shorter, and fit to be made use of when young Catechumens are examined before the Celebration of the Lord's Supper.

THE Sacraments are administer'd after Sermon: The Father of the Child, or another in his Name and Stead, must present him to be baptized; as to the Name which is given to the Infant, a special Caution is given to avoid all Heathenish or *Papist** Names, and to admit only those mentioned in Scripture, chiefly of the Prophets and Saints. No Catechumen is to receive the Communion under fourteen Years of Age, unless the Consistory should think fit to make some Exception in favour of the Candidate, and as a Reward of his extraordinary Merit. Seven Days before the Communion, they are obliged to give in their Names to the Minister, to the end that the Elders may have a convenient Time, to inquire into the Lives and Conversations of the Catechumens. They are, by their Rules of Discipline, to be examined by Ministers and Elders a Month before they receive the Communion. Then all those who are admitted to it for the first Time in Puritan Congregations, must make a Profession of Faith, and declare their Assent to the Discipline of that Church. The Sermons which are preached on the Sunday before the Communion, are to serve as a Preparation to it; and to treat of the Necessity and Method of making the Examen of Conscience, and of being at Peace, and reconciled with God.

ALL Festivals whatever have been abolished by the Puritans Discipline, and they have only kept an annual Fast, which on certain Occasions may be reiterated twice or thrice every Year.

THEIR Marriages are without any particular Ceremonies: The Calvinist Protestants do not allow them to be too quickly dispatched, and therefore require Espousals to be celebrated before; yet so that from the Engagement of the Parties to the time of their being actually joined, there must not be above two Months. They hold this Contract to be indissoluble, and not to be broke upon any Account,

* An important Caution! why should a Presbyterian have a *Papist Name*?

not even though both Parties should be consenting to, or desirous of a Separation, and freely and mutually make an Offer of it one to the other. Marriages, amongst the Puritans, must be published three Sundays immediately preceding the Ceremony, which may be performed on any Congregation Day, except a Fast.

SCHOOLS are to be erected for the Instruction of Children, to teach them the Catechism, Prayers, and religious Formularies, or Creeds: If any of the Students are found capable of such higher Sciences, as are requisite for the Ministerial Office, they are trained up in the Method of explaining the Holy Scriptures; and when they have gone through what is called a Course of Divinity*, they are to *propose* a Conclusion in an Assembly of several Ministers. The *Proposition* once made, the *Proponent* withdraws, to leave the Censors at full Liberty to give their Opinion and Decision; which being agreed upon, the *Proponent* comes in again, to hear it himself from the Minister, who is the Director or President, or, as he is styled in Synodical Assemblies, the *Moderator* of that Exercise.

THE same Discipline requires that every Point may be decided by the Majority of Votes, in all Consistories. That Assembly, amongst the Puritans, as amongst other Calvinists, governs all Ecclesiastical Affairs, keeps the Accounts of Marriages, Baptisms, Deaths, of the Number of those who receive the Communion, &c. in a word, takes care of the good Order in the Church. The Elders and Deacons are Members of it. The first are with the Ministers appointed to watch over, defend, and keep the Flock; the Care of the Sick and Poor is committed to the Deacons; their Powers may be recalled, but this is not to be done slightly, or without good Reasons. Great Caution and Prudence is likewise recommended in pronouncing any Censure, either against Persons who may deserve them, or against things subject to it. High Crimes, if publick, and odious by the Circumstances which accompany them, or by their own Nature, if they shew a Contempt of the Rules, or Obstinacy in Evil, are *cognisable* in the Consistory. As to lesser Faults, the Command of Christ must be obeyed, by which we are ordered to hide the Failings of our Neighbours, and to correct him for them in private, and without Witnesses. If any Person constituted in Ecclesiastical Dignity deserves Excommunication, he must first be deposed from his Office. Two Reasons may require that a Minister should be deprived, *viz.* Ignorance and a disorderly Life; to which a third must be added, which casts no Blemish on the Minister; and that is, an Incapacity occasioned by Age or Sickness. A Suspicion of Heresy requires a serious Examination; and till that is made, a Suspension, which is left to the prudent Consideration of some Ministers known to be learned, and Men of Probity. But if the Heresy is own'd and manifest, if charitable Admonitions make no Impression on the guilty Person, if he has no regard to the Censure pronounced against him or his Opinions: First he is suspended from the *Lord's Supper*, and at last Excommunication cuts him off from the Body of the Faithful. The same Method is

* In some Protestant Countries a Course of Divinity is only a Series of Controversies and Disputes, set in due Order, and under such Denominations as ought to inspire the Masters and Scholars with Sentiments of Respect and Devotion; but this last mentioned Point is much less minded than a sophistical Logick, with which they argue for some Years about Doctrinal Points, without learning to behave themselves like rational Creatures. The most essential Questions of that *Course* are proposed, explained, and examined with great Subtlety, and often without any common Honesty. These being known, the Art of *Arguing* acquired, and by the help of *Academical Studies* a Catalogue being well drawn up of the Articles of Religion divided and subdivided, so as to be distinguished from every other Communion; (as Mr. Locke justly observes in his Letters, tom 2. edit. of Holland 1732). add to this many common Places got by Rote; then one may be examined; take a black Coat and Cloak, and a Band, with that mysterious, and, as 'tis thought, necessary demure Countenance, and then begin to preach. Happy those who by an elevated Genius, or solid Piety, can at last overcome the Defects of such Studies.

prescribed to be followed in every other Case, for which a *Brother Puritan* may deserve Censure. When all other Means are fruitless, and Excommunication cannot be longer deferred or avoided, they proceed to it in the following manner: The first Sunday of the *Publication* the guilty Brother's Crime is declared, without personally naming him. The next Sunday he is named, to excite the Faithful to fast and pray on that direful Occasion of an approaching Excommunication. The third Sunday Notice is given that the dreadful Sentence will be pronounced on the following Sunday; which is accordingly executed with great Solemnity on the fourth Sunday. Some Faults become criminal, either by offending the whole Church, or by being contrary to the Laws of the State. Tho' the Offender gives the greatest mark of Repentance, by his Words or by his Tears, he must nevertheless be deprived of the Communion, for some time, both as an Example to deter others, and as a Reparation for his Fault. This Suspension is longer or shorter as the Consistory sees convenient; the appointed time of which being elapsed, the reconciled Brother must give publick Signs of his Repentance, in Presence of the whole Congregation. If a Minister should be so unhappy as to fall into a capital Crime, he must be deposed. And in this Particular, the Puritans are highly offended at the Remissness of the Episcopal Clergy. To what Purpose, say they, do you preach such excellent Morals in Speculation? And truly it must be own'd, that it is not much better from a Preacher of a scandalous and disorderly Life, than from a Philosopher, who should strongly inveigh against the shameful Vice of Drunkenness, and, like *Despreaux*^a, should afterwards get drunk with the very same Man, whom he so severely corrected and reprimanded in a long Oration for that Fault.

SYNODS and Ecclesiastical Assemblies are not allowed to treat of any other Subjects, but what are within the Verge of their Jurisdiction, such as Inquiring into the State of the Churches of their Communion, how Discipline is kept up, Doctrine delivered, and Ministerial Functions complied with amongst them, &c. The Deputies sent to those Assemblies, must be in some Ecclesiastical Dignity. To be short, every thing is transacted in the *Puritans* Meetings, as in those of other Calvinists. The Assemblies or Conferences of Churchmen ought to be held every six Weeks, the Synods twice in the Year; of these some are Provincial, some National; they have also, or rather might have, general and Oecumenical Synods. The Provincial must be held three Months before the National, to set together and put in good Order the Acts and other Affairs which are to be brought up from the Provincial, to the National Synod. To conclude, a compleat Collection of all the Articles of Discipline ought to be read in every Synod; ('tis from that Collection that we have compiled this Extract) what deserves *Censure* or a *Reprimand*, as they say in secular Assemblies, is amended; and they receive the Communion together in brotherly Love. The Synod begins as it ought, and as all Christians do, with a Sermon, Prayer, and calling upon the Holy Ghost for his Direction.

^a *Despreaux* meeting *Chapelle*, spoke to him freely about the Vice of Drunkenness, to which the last-mentioned Gentleman was subject, and used all the strongest Arguments to persuade his Friend to leave off that shameful Practice. "Ah! dear Friend, says *Chapelle* with Tears, 'tis done, I will be regular pray tell me those Reasons over again, I am charmed with them: But that I may hear them more conveniently, let us go to the next Tavern They both went, and both got so drunk, that they were "forced to be carried home." See *Moliere's Life* by *Grimet*.

A DISSERTATION

Concerning the Religion of the QUAKERS, &c.

THE Quakers owe their Origin to *George Fox*; it is usually fixed to the Year 1649 or 1650^b. They take upon themselves the glorious Titles of ^c *Evangelists* and *Apostolicks*, being persuaded by the *inward Testimony of the Spirit*, that they are the most perfect of all Christians, and bear the nearest Resemblance to Christ and his Apostles. They pretend to follow literally the Precepts and Morality of the Gospel, under the Direction of the *inward Light*^d, which is the Rule and Guide of all their Actions: And had their Power been equal to their Will, all Civil Societies must have been new modelled according to their own System. This *inward Light* being, as the Quakers say, Christ himself, they probably think of themselves what a modern witty Writer says, “ that the Quakers reckon from “ Christ, and that he was the first Quaker.”

FOX the Patriarch, Apostle and Doctor of Quakerism, was, they say, raised by the Spirit of God, to restore Christianity to its Primitive Innocence and Purity, and to ^e *light the Taper of Religion*. They farther pretend, that by his means, *the true Word of God took place of the Corruption which had been spread over all Christianity during a long Night of Apostacy*; that is almost sixteen Ages. This Fox was born in *Leicesfershire* about the Year 1624. It is reported of him^f, that in his Youth he was of a particular, dark, and melancholy Temper; that he loved to be by himself, did not mind play as other Children, despised all their Amusements and Diversions, was very thoughtful, of few Words, and reserved. 'Tis evident those are extraordinary Qualifications towards Fanaticism, or at least very apt Dispositions for it: We may even boldly say, such a Character may suit both Extremes, a Fanatick and a ^g Saint. In Fox it produced the first^h, and failed of the other. The Quakers add to this, that even in the Heat of Youth Fox's Life was irreproachable, and his Virtue exemplary, that his Piety was such, as to keep him in a constant Recollection and Retirement, which he employed in a serious and deep Meditation on the Word of God, whilst those of his Age gave themselves up to Vanity and sensual Pleasures. Thus, to use the Expression of the above-cited Author of

^b The Author of the *Letters concerning the English* fixes it to 1642. Fox was then only a Shoemaker's Prentice-Boy, scarce known out of his Shop.

^c So says *Graevius*; but he does not seem to agree with the *English* Writers, who have given an Account of the Quakers Doctrine.

^d This is taken from *English* Authors.

^e These Expressions are, according to most Historians, very common in the Writings of the Quakers.

^f *Graevius*, lib. 1. *Hist. Quaker*.

^g The word *Saint* is not meant rigorously; every body knows there are Saints of several sorts.

^h According to our Notions; for to be sure the Quakers look upon Fox as a holy Man and a true Apostle. No Idea is less confused or more distinct than the Character of a true Saint, and whoever judges of it by the Gospel-Rules cannot mistake it: But Partv-Prejudice has rendered it *Equivocal*, and the *Accessory* too, if possible, thrown a darker Vail upon it. Wonders and Miracles are added, more suitable to a *History of Tom-Thumb* than to a Saint's Life, Actions against Nature, and impossible: Absurd and unheard-of Practices, irregular and unsteady Notions; and lastly, what is but too common, an open Rebellion against and Defiance to the Laws of the State.

Letters, Fox, at the Age of twenty five, was already become a *Man holily mad*. Yet he could scarce read or write, delivered himself heavily, spoke his native Language very ill, and had not the least Tincture of Learning; far from being capable to write the various Books of which he was said to be Author, and which were actually published under his Name both in *Latin* and *English*.

SUCH were the Endowments which from a Shoemaker's Prentice-Boy raised Fox to the Dignity of the Apostle of a numerous, and now grown powerful Sect: But a considerable time elapsed, before his Mission became publick. In the mean while, he had but a few Moments to qualify himself for such an Office; he could only steal a few leisure Hours from his Trade, to study and meditate upon Scripture: Amongst so many distracting Cares, he had no Help to understand that obscure tho' divine Book, but his own Fancies, which, as we shall see hereafter, he cunningly made pass for Supernatural and Heavenly Inspirations. It is reported of him, that by his long and continual Poring upon the Bible, he had so well got it by heart, that all his Words and Conversations were but a Rhapsody of the Expressions and Texts of Scripture, infomuch that they farther pretend, that had it been lost, it might have been retriev'd by Fox's Memory. However his Apostleship went no farther than the Shop, till he was nineteen Years old; his whole Audience was made up of his Fellow Shoemakers, who only jeered his Exhortations, and contemned his troublesome Reprehensions. Fox thus rejected, withdrew, lamenting the perverse Dispositions of his Companions, and as usual retired into some private Corner of the House, to his doleful Meditations. As he was one Day walking alone in the Fields, reflecting according to Custom on the disorderly Lives of Men, and considering which might be the properest Means to reform them, for the Glory of God, and their own temporal and eternal Happiness, he thought he heard a Voice from Heaven, or rather he felt one of those sudden Impulses which the Quakers¹ take for special Motions from the Holy Ghost. This pretended Voice, or Impulse of the Spirit of God, set before his Eyes a lively Representation of the corrupt and abandoned Lives of Men, from their Cradle to extreme old Age, at which time nothing is left to return to God, but weak if not wholly lost Senses, and a second Childhood; exhorting him at the same time to Retirement and an absolute Separation from the general Corruption of the World. This is the true *Epocha* of Fox's Vocation: After this Call from Heaven, he lived in a cloister Retreat than before; he searched narrowly into the State of his Conscience; retrenched whatever he found superfluous, and followed his Trade no further than was necessary for his Subsistence. He went about preaching from Place to Place, and boldly entered into Disputes with Divines and Ministers, trusting solely to and being guided only by that pretended Divine Voice, which *interiourly speaks to the Heart, and draws Men as it pleases*². We must not omit taking notice, that at the Time of this manifest Inspiration, Fox's Melancholy was much increased. To what pitch it was arrived, may easily be guessed by the Words of the Author, who has wrote in *Latin* the History of the Quakers; he says¹, " that Fox com-

¹ The first Quakers, says Croesus, lib. 1. Hist. p. 24. pretended that every extraordinary Motion, every Impulse leading to Good after a deep Meditation, comes from the Holy Ghost; and what is then said, is a Voice from Heaven, a divine Oracle: accordingly they boldly began their Discourses with these Words, *God, or the Holy Ghost, speaks by my Mouth*. The tanauck Anabaptists said the same.

² Fanatical Expressions often used by Quakers.

¹ Croesus lib. 1. p. 28. *Querebatur... se sine ulla intermissione maximis ongoribus & tentationibus Satanæ cruciari, &c.*

“plained of being tormented by Satan without Remission, of being tempted and
“persecuted by that Evil Spirit with so much Violence and Fury, that he was almost
“reduced to Despair, and sometimes preferred Death to Life.” The same Author adds,
that several Ministers were of opinion^m, that his Complaints against Satan should
be treated as other hypochondriack Distempers, by applying to the Body proper
Remedies in order to cure his Brain. Enough has been said of this Man’s Melan-
choly, all know the Effects of that Malady which in all Countries has produced so
many visionary Madmen; all know that Vapours rising from the Spleen, have often
been transformed into Oracles, Predictions and Apparitionsⁿ.

HITHERTO Fox had only been a Fanatick in Theory; his Retirement and Soli-
tude, in which he had no Companion but the Bible, no Master or Interpreter but
his own *interiour Direction*, was at last rewarded by Visions, Inspirations, Divine
Watchings, Holy Foreights, and some pretended Prophecies. These sad Effects
of Melancholy made him known, and in a short time procured him some thou-
sands of Disciples: But we must not think this ignorant and visionary Shoemaker
was destitute of that artful Shew of Simplicity, by which the common People have
so often been deceived and misled. His Melancholy was a studied one, brought to a
System, after many Corrections and Amendments, during the Space of three Years^o,
which we may justly look upon as the Improvement of his natural Dispositions, the
Academical Studies, the Course of Divinity of this Shoemaker, who left off that
Trade as soon as he had drawn after him a considerable number of Disciples and
Followers, who, one may imagine, would not let him want Necessaries. His out-
ward Appearance of Modesty, his Sobriety, his Dress (which was wholly made of
Leather from Head to Foot) imposed upon the People: Thus accounted he went
from Town to Town, inveighing against both the Church and the Clergy, with
his Companions or Emissaries. Their whole Discourse was about framing an intirely
new System of Religion, and establishing a new Church. This made him be
looked upon as a seditious Person; and accordingly Fox being now five and twenty
Years old, was imprisoned at *Nottingham* in 1649. This is a Circumstance which
was made more remarkable by some pretended Miracles; and in particular, by
casting out the Devil from a Woman, who counterfeited being possessed. The
Fanatick Party increased upon it, and we are assured, that several^p honest and
well-meaning People, naturally averse from such Proceedings, were nevertheless de-
luded by him: but no wonder; *Enthusiasm is a Catching Distemper*^q. Fox being
sent out of *Nottingham* Jail, preached in other Places, where he was roughly handled
by the Mob for his extravagant Behaviour, and the Boldness with which he inter-
rupted the Ministers in their Sermons. At *Darby* he was shut up for six Months in
a House of Correction; and when he came out of it, in order to be examined by
Jeremy Bennet, a Justice of the Peace, the Name of *Quakers* was given to him and
his Disciples, because in his Answers, and publick Exhortations he often said,

^m Cum . . . conferret corpori æque atque animo medicinam adferendum, ibid.

ⁿ Most of the antient and modern Visions, Extasies, Inspirations, Possessions, if rightly examined, would appear to be only the Effects of Melancholy. This varies according to the Diversity of Constitutions; in some it is what the *Spaniards* call the *Devil’s Bath*, in others it becomes the *Heroicon Pathos* of the *Greeks*, that is an Inclination and Ability to undertake and perform great things.

^o *Crocius*, lib. 1. Hist. p. 33. *Morsit Foxus in hoc statu prope Triennium quod ei tempus velut curriculum Academicum extitit, &c.*

^p *Crocius* relates several such Examples. But he is an obscure long-winded Author, and writes without any Order, more like a declaiming Orator than like an Historian; and ’tis hard to guess whether he is for or against the *Quakers*.

^q See the above-cited Author of *Letters concerning the English*.

Quaking and Trembling was a necessary Disposition to hear the Word of God with Profit. But that Sect glories at this Day in a Denomination, which at first was intended as a Ridicule upon them.

NOTTINGHAM and *Darby* were not the only Places, in which *Fox* was punished upon account of his Fanatical Sallies; his Want of Good-breeding; his *Theeing* and *Thouing*; his pretending to give Admonitions from Heaven; and other insufferable Abuses by him committed: He had been cast into Prison, and whip'd in those Towns; at other Places he was put in the Pillory, and underwent some Punishments equally ignominious; he was often stoned or beaten almost to Death: But he endured all those Affronts according to the literal Sense of the Gospel-Precept; he desired the Judges to order a second Execution of the Sentence pronounced against him; he presented his Cheek and his Back to those who had boxed or whipped him; and in the midst of these *temporal Afflictions* he rejoiced and was comforted by the daily Increase of the Number of his Adherents: one of these, by name *Elizabeth Hoton*, was the first Woman who dared to preach in Publick. After her the Wife of one *Fell* converted to *Quakerism* by *Fox*. She married this Apostle of the *Quakers* upon the Death of her Husband, and preached likewise publicly.

CROMWELL was soon acquainted with *Fox's* Reputation, and the Progress of his Sect: At first he despised them and their Principles, not thinking a Body of Men (who preached and practised *literally Evangelical Patience*, who presented themselves to be beaten and abused, and who gloried in suffering for the Love of God) could be of any use to him in the Government of the State: But upon Consideration, and perceiving how quickly that Sect spread itself throughout the whole Kingdom, his Contempt turned to Wonder. He employed the most pressing Sollicitations^r, he offered large Sums of Money, to win over those Enthusiasts to his Interest; but without any Success^t; they were above *Corruption*, and behaved like worthy Disciples of the Gospel; and forced that Tyrant to praise *this new Species of Men, whom he could not engage to his Party by either Gifts or Favours, which means he had tried upon all other Sects without ever missing his Aim.*

IN the Year 1658, the *Quakers* were become so numerous, that they thought fit to hold a general Assembly in *Bedfordshire*, at the House of one of their chief Leaders. This Convocation lasted three Days: some Years before the Sect had penetrated into *Ireland*; and much about the same time, one of their Missionaries, a Butcher by Trade, had made it known also in *Scotland*. *Fox* himself went thither, he was ill received at first, and piously revenged that Affront^x by sharp Invectives against the Presbyterians in that Kingdom. He did not use more favourably the Episcopal Clergy, and other Protestants, but continually censured their Doctrine and Discipline, with that Violence, that furious Behaviour, which had been so notorious at the beginning of his Fanaticism^y. If we add to this, the Boldness of his pretendedly inspired Decisions, the continual and affected Neglect of which all the *Quakers* were guilty, as to a decent Behaviour, and the Customs both

^r He did not bow to, or take off his Hat before his Judges.

^t *Cromwell* paid great Regards to *Fox* in particular, hoping to gain him by Demonstrations of Kindness. See *Croesus* lib. 1. p. 75.

^x Lord *Clarendon*, in his *Hist. of the Rebell.* vol. 6. p. 473. says, the *Quakers* were irreconcilable Enemies to *Cromwell*.

^y *Croesus*, *ibid.* The Author of *Letters, &c.* has not repeated these Words of *Cromwell*: but instead of them makes him say, that *This Religion was the only one upon which his Guineas could not prevail.*

^z *Croesus*, lib. 1. p. 95.

^v The same Author, p. 124.

civil and religious; their proudly distinguishing their Sect from all others, and self-conceited Opinion that there was no Sanctity out of it; who can wonder that on some Occasions they were punished as Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity, and at other times treated as Madmen. Under colour of this pretended Inspiration, and of a close Imitation of Christ and his Apostles^a, they exclaimed against the Prayers and publick Offices of the Church of *England*, against Churches and Ministers. If they were so moderate as to give them no Interruption in their Sermons, they never failed publishing sharp Refutations accompany'd with insulting Expressions, tho' without Order or Connection. The lower Class of the Men and Women of the Sect, were the loudest, and exceeded all Bounds in ridiculing other Protestant Communion: and it might well be expected, since Ignorance is generally abusive. On the other side, those to whom the *Quakers* offered such Insults, were not backward in exaggerating their Faults, and in their turn accused them of Impiety and Libertinism, to render them odious; and taxed them with Foaming at the Mouth, and Swelling with convulsive Motions, as Demoniacs, or those who pretended to speak from the Bottom of their Belly^a; with affecting a Resemblance, even an Equality to God and Christ, with maintaining, as some Anabaptists have done, that Christ has no other Body but his Church, and teaching that his Incarnation was only figurative and not real. Such Accusations, which reflected chiefly on *Fox* and the other Ringleaders of the Party, rendered *Quakerism* so odious, that whoever was but suspected of it, was exposed to numberless Insults, and the most violent Persecutions^b.

THE *Quakers* flattered themselves with the Hopes of enjoying some Quiet at the Restoration of *Charles* the Second, and their Fanatical Fits abated likewise^c. Their furious Invectives, their violent Declamations against Ministers and Churches, were less frequent. They were not so often guilty of those pious extravagant Fooleries, which they called Inspiration; at least they were kept more private, and their Enthusiasts, when under Examination, left off those favourite Expressions which they had before uttered in the Presence of the Judges, viz. *That their Names were unknown to the World; that they drew their Origin from the Land of Canaan; and that they lived only in God, &c.* Their Doctrine was reduced to a better Order, and rendered more methodical, and the whole Sect being more consistent and uniform, was much taken notice of, and made some Figure in Party-Lists. *George Keith* and *Robert Barclay*, both *Scots*, added to its Reputation, and pleaded its Cause methodically and with Art; *Barclay's*^d Apology for the *Quakers*, which he presented to King *Charles* the Second in 1675, is an elaborate Work, and well known. *Keith* became the Doctor and Teacher of the *Quakers* at *Philadelphia*, the chief Town of *Pennsylvania*: He wrote likewise some *English* Books, to explain and set in a clearer Light the Doctrine of that Sect; lastly, he advised them to choose proper Persons, who might, in the Name of the whole Party, draw up a Profession of Faith, as the most likely way to fasten the Bands of Unity: But this Proposal

^a *Juxta exempla Prophetarum, & Christi & Apostolorum*, p. 126. See also p. 140 and following, several Examples of such Invectives.

^b *Crocius*, p. 133.

^c See the Particulars in *Crocius*, towards the latter End of his first Book.

^d The same Author, lib. 2.

^e *Theologia vere Christiana Apologia*.

^f A Province of *North America*, peopled with *Quakers*, and which derives its Name from *William Penn*, one of the most noted Men in the Party.

was rejected by the *Quakers*, because this appeared to them like setting up new Masters, a new Authority over themselves, in short like Slavery.

THEIR Refusal to take the Oath to the King, because in their Opinion^f all Oaths are forbid, and their plain Affirmation is as binding and equal to Swearing, raised a Persecution against them; another Pretence to give them no Quarter was their not paying Tythes. *George Fox* (not the Founder of this Sect, but another who for Distinction sake would be called *the Younger*) presented to the King^g a Remonstrance in favour of his Brethren, in which there were several bold Strokes and reproachful Expressions; to which he added some Threatnings, as from God. The then Duke of *York*, who was afterwards King *James* the Second, voted, they say, earnestly to have the Author hanged. However this Remonstrance was followed by several other Petitions, all unsuccessful. The Persecution was carried on, and grew more violent upon a new Pretence, which animated the whole Nation against the *Quakers* still more than their fanatical refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, or to pay Tythes. A Rumour had been industriously spread, that there were good Grounds to suspect that some *Roman* Catholicks concealed themselves amongst the *Quakers*, who were said to connive at it. From this bare Suspicion they averred it as a certain Fact; it was confidently reported, that some Jesuits, after saying Mass in a Catholick Congregation, went to preach amongst the *Quakers*. If any of these last mentioned delivered himself with any Shew of Eloquence, then to be sure he must be a Jesuit. And what could be the Meaning of such a Disguise? was the next Enquiry made by their Enemies: No doubt, said they, the *Roman* Catholicks (who are as much averse from the Oath of Allegiance as the *Quakers*, tho' upon another Motive) think to hide themselves, and be somewhat safer amongst them. This Town-talk was improved into Romances very prejudicial to both *Quakers* and Catholicks.

WHILST the *Quakers* suffered the said Persecutions, of which they have given long Accounts to their own Advantage, (as is the constant Practice of all Sects and Religions) out of which Memoirs the *Latin* Author so often quoted has made up his History, *William Penn* began to distinguish himself, and to be taken notice of. In the Year 1666, having already finished his Travels through *France* and other foreign Countries, he went over to *Ireland*, in which *Quakerism* had gained ground for some time, but was then persecuted, as well as in *England* and *Scotland*, upon the same Account, of steadily refusing to pay Tythes, take the Oaths, and conform to several Customs established by the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government. *Penn*^h was naturally disposed by his Temper and the turn of his Mind, to receive all the Notions of that Sect; and hearing of it in *Ireland*, he went to one of their clandestine Meetings, which, unluckily or luckily for him, was discovered, and he was taken and confined in Prison with the rest. This Accident no ways daunted the young Manⁱ. He had a Call to become a *Quaker*, and proved in a short time one of the *Elect* and chief Supports of the Party. He searched to the Bottom, and acquired a perfect Knowledge of all their Opinions, and fully resolved to embrace them. Upon his Arrival in *England*, he waited on his Father like a true *Quaker*, with his Hat on, without bowing to him, *Theeing* and *Tbowing* him, and calling him Friend. The Reception he met with was not very gracious, he was

^f This and several other Notions are common to *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*.

^g See that Remonstrance in *Croesus*, lib. 2. p. 208.

^h *Croesus*, lib. 2. p. 286.

ⁱ He was then two and twenty Years old.

looked upon as a Visionary and a Madman. His afflicted and angry Father tried all Means, Prayers, Threats, Arguments, Punishments to bring him back from his Errors, and despairing at last to overcome his inflexible Stubbornness, turned him out of his House. *Penn* bore all these Afflictions with exemplary Patience; this made an Impression on the Tenderness of his Father, who was reconciled to his Son, left him his Estate, which was very considerable, and from a violent and open Enemy of the *Quakers* was almost become so himself before he died, if we can give any credit to his last Words, as related by the so often mentioned *Latin* Historian^k.

PENN soon acquired a great Power and Reputation amongst the *Quakers* by his Sermons and Writings. His plentiful Fortune had likewise some share in it, and the free Access he had at Court, where his bountiful and obliging Temper, joined to the publick Profession he made of *Toleration*, often engaged him to intercede both for his Brethren and for the *Roman* Catholicks. He carried this Notion of Liberty so far as to put all Christian Communions upon an equal Foot, pretending none ought to be excluded from bearing Offices in the State: A false and dangerous Opinion, says *Crocius*, which under colour of favouring Liberty destroyed it! However *Penn* upon that Account was looked upon as an *Atheist*, a *Jesuit*, and a *Papist*; to brand him only with being a *Latitudinarian* seemed too favourable a Censure. This Opinion of his he grounded on this Principle, that to be a good Christian, nothing more was required to be believed, than the fundamental Articles of Christian Religion; that is, those Truths which are so clearly expressed in the sacred Scripture, as to be easily understood by each particular Person: The owning Jesus Christ to be the Saviour of the World was one of these Truths which he thought essential. Over and above that, he strongly recommended and insisted upon the Necessity of a serious Study of and faithful Compliance with moral Duties. The other Tenets of ancient and modern Quakers, which we have been able to find out, shall be mentioned in the Sequel of this Dissertation.

MUCH about the same time, the Persecution against the *Quakers* slackened; and they employed that Respite, in framing the Rules and Discipline according to which they were to govern themselves: We shall present our Readers with a short Abstract of the long, tedious, and confused Account which the *Latin* Author gives of that Subject^l. They established Ministers and fixed Pastors; notwithstanding the perfect Equality which they had till then affected to maintain amongst the Brotherhood; they were at last forced to own, that in all Societies some are endowed with a more shining Merit and greater Talents than the rest, and out of these they made choice of such as seemed to them best qualified, to govern their Assemblies and keep Order amongst them. Some of these Pastors go (or at least did go when that Sect was first established) from Place to Place to instruct the Faithful, to examine the *Profelytes* or new Converts, &c. and are called *Apostles*. This high Dignity is not confined to the Men only, Women may also obtain it. Next to the Ministers, or as the *Quakers* express it, *next to those who are in the Ministry*, follows the Office of *Elders*, Men and Women, who by reason of the Experience they may have ac-

^k *Crocius*, p. 288. The fourth Letter of *Voltaire*, concerning the English, plays very ingeniously upon *Penn's* Conversion to *Quakerism*, &c. That Letter is full of witty Turns; but we cannot entirely rely upon the Authority of a Poet, who takes as much Liberty in relating Historical Facts, as he might do in the Incidents of a Play or Poem.

^l *Crocius*, lib. 2. p. 293, and following. This Author is in vogue amongst the *Quakers*, as to what concerns their Tenets and Discipline.

quired in the Course of a long Life, are supposed to be more prudent. These help the Ministers with their Advice towards keeping up Discipline, maintaining Peace and Unity, taking care of, and providing for, those who are either poor or sick : They receive the publick Money, and are the Treasurers of that Sect.

THE Ministers and Elders meet regularly, as other Protestants do, in their *Presbyteries* or *Consistories*. The above-cited *Latin* Historian says, that in *Holland* it has been proposed that every Quaker's Meeting should have its own Ecclesiastical Senate made up of married Persons of a ripe Age, who should direct the Assemblies according to some settled Laws : But this was rejected as favouring too much of a new Hierarchy, and being apt to put a Restraint upon and even destroy the Gifts of the Spirit.

BOTH Sexes have likewise more general Meetings, which may be call'd *Classes*, *Colloquies* and *Synods*. In those Assemblies, which are either provincial, and held every three Months ; or general, and called together every Year, Censures are pronounced, Ecclesiastical Affairs reviewed, Books examined, and the most material Occurrences register'd in their *Records*. In *England* the *Quakers* general Meeting is fixed to the third Day after Pentecost ; not out of Superstition, say they, as if they expected their Deputies should be more particularly inspired at a time when the Commemoration of the Holy Ghost's coming down upon the Apostles is celebrated, but solely out of a Principle of Regularity in meeting on a fixed Day, and at a convenient Season ; and it is notorious, that the *Quakers* keep no Holidays, and solemnise no Festival. The Holy Ghost, the *Spirit within*, knows nor admits any such Distinctions. Deputies from all *Quakers* dispersed through the whole World, meet (or used to meet when our Author composed his History) at these Assemblies ; in which there is a Secretary to register, or propose the Matters to be debated, or copy out the Decisions : But the Holy Ghost is the invisible President ; and they do not admit of a visible one.

THEIR outward Exercises of Devotions may be seen in the Prints, where some are represented in a deep Meditation, others in an Extasy of Contemplation, whilst some one of them, Man or Woman, rises up either with a sedate and composed Motion, or in a kind of Transport, as if acted by an irresistible Power, and often with Sighs, Groans and Tears. This Variety of Behaviour is caused, as they pretend, by the Impression of the *Spirit*, which often dictates to the *Man or Woman Preacher*, Sermons two or three Hours long, after a deep and sullen Silence of an equal Duration has stupified those Enthusiasts. This *Spiritual Lethargy*, if we believe the *Quakers*, makes them enter into a serious Consideration of the State of their own Souls, into a deep Meditation, by means of which the *Spirit* prepares to itself hidden Ways to penetrate into the Hearts of the Faithful ; then it breaks forth in Sermons and Exhortations, or in Prayer or Psalmody : During which, those who are not inspired to speak, remain in a State of Recollection, examine themselves, sigh and groan, and make a suitable Application of what they hear to the Circumstances in which they find their own Souls. From that inward Conflict of the Spirit against the Flesh ; from the Devil's furious Assaults to keep the Mastery, proceed sometimes those bodily Motions, those Shakings and Tremblings with which the Faithful are seized, and which are now and then so universal, that as *Crocius* relates it^m, the whole Assembly-Room has seemed to be agitated by an

^m *Crocius*, lib. 2. p. 300. What he says must be compared to the Convulsions, which we shall mention in the Dissertation following.



*ASSEMBLÉE des QUAQUERS à Londres
A. Quaqueresse qui prêche*



*ASSEMBLÉE des QUAQUERS à Amsterdam
A. Quaquer qui prêche*



Earthquake. It has likewise happened more than once, that the Meeting was concluded without any Sermon, Exhortation or publick Prayer; but the inward Devotion was so much less interrupted^a. We have mentioned something of the Quaker's Singing or Psalmody, but our Readers are desired not to imagine it to be any ways like the Singing of other Congregations; by no means, 'tis but a kind of Humming or Buzzing proportioned to the spiritual Drowsiness of that Sect.

MEDITATION, Prayer, Recollection, Contemplation, and Reading the Bible, are the chief Devotions which the Quakers use at Home; they are longer or shorter, more or less frequent, and alternately diversified as the Spirit moves. Their Children are brought up to those Exercises from their Infancy, have a very plain and modest Education, without any Ornaments, fine Clothes, what is called a genteel Behaviour, or endeavouring to please other Men. The Quakers Dress is black, or of some plain dark Colour, somewhat like a Waistcoat, without Plaits on the Sides; without Buttons on the Pockets or Sleeves, their Hats broad-brimmed and horizontal, all the Politeness they aim at is an open frank Access, and natural easy Conversation. "They know not (says the Author of the *Philosophical Letters*, "Lett. first) how to draw one Leg behind the other, or to carry in their Hand "what is made to cover their Heads." If the other Customs and Tenets of the Quakers were not more singular or blame-worthy, 'twere almost to be wished all the World might turn *Quakers*.

THEY keep, as we said before, no Festivals; but as every thing is done by them according to the Motion of the Spirit, they may meet on any Day; in *England* and *Holland* they meet regularly every Sunday: They neither pray nor speak, either in publick or private, with a loud Voice, but when the *Spirit within* bids them. If this Spirit does not move them, they are only to *think* at Church, at Table, at going to Bed. This, says their Historian, has given their Enemies a Handle to accuse them of not Praying; and of acting by Instinct^o, like Beasts. In *England* also, being obliged by reason of the Persecution to hide themselves, and for that end to meet in small close Rooms, where, by consequence, it often happened, that to prevent Faintings, those of a weak Complexion brought with them small Vinegar or Hungary-Water-Bottles to smell to; the poor *Quakers* lay under the scandalous Imputation of inspiring themselves, and bringing down the *Spirit* by the Strength of the Liquor. Such Calumnies never wear off, and are generally made use of by

* The witty Description of the Quaker's Meeting in the *Philosophical Letters*, is embellish'd with several Ornaments, not exactly conformable to Truth. However, as it may divert the Readers, we shall give it room in this Note; with this Caution, of mistrusting what they find in an *Italian* Character.

"The Quakers have several Meeting-houses in *London*: I went to that which is near the Monument; they were met when my Leader and I came in, to the number of about four hundred Men and three hundred Women; these hid their Faces with their Fans; the Men were hid under their broad flapping Hats; all were sitting in a deep Silence; and not one of them looked up at us when we passed by them. The Silence lasted about a quarter of an Hour; when one rose, took off his Hat, and having made some wry Faces and groaned, he spoke partly with the Mouth, partly through the Nose, unintelligible Jargon, which he thought was from Scripture, but which neither he nor any body else could understand. When this Posture-Master had ended his Soliloquy, and the Assembly was dispersed with great Edification and Stupidity, I enquired of my Companion, how it came to pass that the wisest of them could bear to hear such Nonsense? We are obliged to bear it, says he, and bear every thing with Patience, because we know not whether the Person who rises will be inspired by the Holy Ghost or by Folly. We even allow the Women to speak; and if two or three of them are inspired together, then we have a brave Noise in the House of the Lord. What then, says I, have you no Priests? No Friend, said the Quaker.... and we find the Benefit of it.... why should we have Hirelings.... who in a short time would oppress us? The rest is but a poetical Invention of his own.

^o *Nunquam orare Deum & precudum ritu proficere ad omnia.* This is expressed rather too strongly and falsely, so we have softened it.

^p *Croesus*, p. 305.

all Parties ; they spread from the People to the Churchmen, and to keep up Party-Divisions are with Success returned back from Churchmen to the Laity.

THE *Quakers* set no great Value upon the Knowledge of Languages and Learning, which tho' they do not think intirely useless, yet, say they, are not necessary for the Ministry. The Spirit speaks, and truly according to their System, that Spirit wants neither Philosophy, *Greek*, or *Hebrew*, to understand the Scripture and explain it to the People : They express a great Contempt of Philosophy and Divinity, chiefly as taught in the Schools, and esteem them no otherwise than as the Inventions of Satan.

THEY likewise reject all Titles of Honour, either in the State or in the Church, and have no regard to Academical Degrees^a. All these Marks of Distinction are only apt to set up so many Masters, which the Gospel expressly forbids, we being all equally Brethren : They give the Name of *Hirelings* to Protestant Churchmen, upon account of the Income they receive from the Lands they possess, from Tythes, Salaries, or Pensions. And according to their System, 'tis evident they cannot approve of a Limitation in the number of Ministers, nor of that Function being appropriated to a particular Order of Men, since the *Spirit within* is not and cannot be confined. Moreover, they think the number of Pastors is too small to comply with all the Duties required of them ; and that there ought to be Missionaries, who might, as amongst Catholics, labour without Intermision for the *Propagation* of the Faith ; and are of opinion, that the present Behaviour of other Protestants in that Particular, paves the way for Antichrist.

DUTIES, Taxes, Great Salaries and Profits, all other Means employed in civil Societies, to engage Men to do their Duty, and become useful Members of the Commonwealth, by the Hope of considerable Gains, seem odious and dangerous to the *Quakers*, as becoming only Hirelings and Slaves to Avarice, not good Citizens, or Christians who ought to have their Duty at Heart.

WE must repeat it over again : Amongst *Quakers* the *Spirit* is free, and does not submit to Synods, nor to worldly Learning, Wisdom, or Customs : This is one of the chief and most essential Articles of their Religion. All the Members of the Church may and ought to concur to the general Good of the Body ; all may have the same Helps from the Holy Ghost, and feel the same Impressions of his Power ; all are animated and fed, like our bodily Members, by the same *Efficacy* and in the same Manner ; all by consequence ought to give a helping Hand to the *Edification of the mystical Body*, as natural Members contribute to the Welfare of human Bodies. This they apply to the Evangelical Ministry : The *Spirit*, say the *Quakers*, notifies by its *Impulse* what is wanting to the Church, and obliges those Members upon whom he makes that *Impulse*, to give a speedy Help to the mystical Body. If it should happen that out of Laziness, Neglect, or Distraction, the Persons so moved, should not be sensible of the *Impulse*, or not give a due Attention to the Defects of which the Members of the mystical Body are guilty ; then they ought to rouse themselves with new Fervour, and by a perfect Recollection, make a Trial of the Gifts and Power of the Spirit of Life. The Call to pastoral Functions essentially consists in this, it requires no Pomp, no Ceremony, no Im-

^a Voltaire above-cited, in a Dialogue with his *Quaker*, introduces him giving Proofs from Antiquity of *Thieving and Thruing* both Kings and Coblers, and of their plain Dress, to avoid the Pride, Vanity, and Corruption of the World.

^b *Craesius*, pag. 310. *Dicunt unumquodque Membrorum Christi oportere se expersuacere, & experiri in se, &c.*

provement of the Mind, no Preparation, no Examination, nor any of the Means used in other Christian Societies to provide Churches with Pastors and Teachers. Yet if after this *inward Trial* any one is moved and forcibly drawn by the Spirit to engage in the Ministry; the Ecclesiastical Council must not omit the Formality of Examining whether the *Person so inspired* is in Reality fit for it, and ought to be admitted to that Dignity; the Importance of which, in regard to himself, and to the whole Church, is strongly represented to him, in a Speech or Exhortation made to that end: And in this manner the Pastors, and the Assembly of the faithful *Quakers*, concur with *the Spirit* to the Election of the new Minister, who thus is called and accepted. This Ceremony is sometimes accompanied by the Letters of other Churches and Societies of *Quakers*, recommending such or such to that Office. When installed, they are maintained by voluntary Contributions only, without any Settlement, Contract, or previous Agreement. Each *Quaker* contributes freely according to his Power, and the Minister is not to accept of their Benevolence, further than is necessary for a sober and frugal Maintenance: But if he is reduced to Poverty for want of such Contributions, it is lawful for him to leave the Congregation which he served; he may even, according to their Historian, *Shake the Dust off his Feet against that Church*, as Christ ordered his Apostles to do against those who would not receive them.

THESE, which are an Income appropriated to the Church, and other Duties and Taxes levied in War-time, they at last have thought fit to pay, in order to avoid the Persecutions which they had suffered so long upon that account: But to palliate this open Breach of their antient Discipline, which is directly opposite to such Impositions, they pretend to be ignorant of, and will not inquire into the Uses to which the Money so levied is applied. This they still own to be a Fault, but unavoidable to human Frailty. They were more inflexible heretofore, and their Enemies reproach them with their Variations on that head, as contrary to the Sincerity of the Gospel.

THOSE who are the least acquainted with the Opinions of the *Quakers*, cannot but know that they reject Baptism and the Lord's Supper: and all are ready to cry out as the Author of *the Letters*, in the fore-mentioned *Dialogue*, 'sDeath, why then you are no Christians! The Truth is, they look upon Baptism as a *Jewish* Ceremony; yet they are willing that other Christian Societies should receive it as a Token of Regeneration, of Initiation, of an Introduction to Christianity: But they pretend, that in our holy and all-spiritual Religion, outward Signs ought not to prevail upon Duty, nor a wicked Man be esteemed a Christian upon account of his being baptized; whilst, for want of that Ceremony, another Man, who complies with all the Christian Duties, is looked upon as a Heathen. The true Baptism of Christ, say they, is the Purifying of the Soul, and that only can save Men. Their Belief concerning the Communion is also another Stumbling-block; and upon perusing their Profession of Faith about that Article, most People are apt to repeat

¹ *Crocius*, p. 312. *Ut accitu accorsitque quasi horum veniat ac Spiritus.*

² *Voltaire*, in the above-cited Dialogue with a *Quaker* (amongst his *Letters concerning the English*) introduces him giving this Account of the Notion they entertain about War: "We never go to War; not out of Fear of Death; on the contrary, we are glad of the approaching Re-union to the *Being of Beings*; but because we are Men and Christians, not Wolves, Tygers or Dogs.... We must not cross the Seas to cut the Throats of our Brethren, since God commands us to love even our Enemies.... and when there are publick Rejoicings in *London* for Victories obtained, we groan in private for the Murders committed by those bloody Cut-Throats clad in Red, with pointed Caps two Foot long."

³ They would not petition for Liberty, when in Prison; nor pay the Fines laid upon them, nor even the Jailor's Fees, calling all those Dues, *the Wages of Iniquity*.

the Exclamation of *Voltaire*, and to eccho after him, *What no Communion!* The *Quaker's* Answer is, *We have no Communion, but the Union of Hearts.*

WE shall not repeat here, what every one knows, and we ourselves have mentioned, of the Aversion which the *Quakers*, as well as all *Anabaptists*, have to Swearing and taking Oaths: The Author of *Letters concerning the English*, introduces his *Quaker*, expressing their Opinion on that Topick in the following manner: "We never swear, not even in a Court of Justice; the most holy Name of God ought not to be thus profaned in the trivial Disputes of poor frail Mortals. We ourselves have no Law-Suits one against the other; but when we are obliged to appear before the Magistrates about the Contentions of others, we Affirm the Truth by a *Yea* or *Nay*, and the Judges take our Word for it; whilst so many Christians of other Denominations daily forswear themselves."

MARRIAGES are contracted amongst them, with as little Ceremony as all their other Duties are performed. A *Dutch Quaker*, being reproved for the *Holy Indifference* which he pretended to, in paying an Homage due to Nature, gave this short Answer, *'tis enough that Necessity requires it.* Nature gives the same Bent to *Quakers* as to all other Sects, all other Religions; but they pretend to govern its unruly Motions, and to make it act as being in them perfectly *regenerate*. Therefore their Youth are Christianly instructed, in whatever concerns that honourable State; they are admonished that it is of the highest Importance, requires a serious and strict Examination, and is not to be entered into without a nice Choice, much Reflection, and the Approbation and Consent of their Parents. When after all this, they persist in the Resolution of Marrying; they must give Notice of their Design to the Ecclesiastical Council, who make the usual Enquiries, *Whether they are qualified to marry? and have the Consent of their Parents?* &c. Informations are likewise taken from those who are present, to know if no Opposition is made to the Marriage intended, and on the next Sunday following they publish a kind of Ban. These Preliminaries being over, the Contract becomes valid amongst the *Quakers* in this Form: The Bride and Bridegroom come to the Assembly accompanied by the Friends and Relations whom they think fit to invite. There, in the Presence of the said Friends and Relations, they are desired to declare, whether they love one another, whether they are mutually willing to have each other, and are resolved to help and assist one the other. To these and such other Questions, suitable to the Occasion, the *Quakers* give, with all Sincerity, the usual Answers: which, with their mutual Consent, are registered in a Book kept for that Purpose. The contracting Parties set their Names to it, as also the Friends and Relations as Witnesses; which being done, the new married Couple are sent away, to obey religiously the Dictates of Nature. The Disorders, usually committed at Weddings, are, or ought to be, wholly unknown amongst *Quakers*. The Body being, in their System, the *Vessel and Garment* * of the Soul, it must be maintained and kept with Simplicity and Modesty, without Superfluity, or endeavouring to please the Senses at the Expence of the Purity of the Soul. Those Marriages of the *Quakers* were heretofore deemed illegal in *England*; but they are now tolerated, and looked upon as valid and indissoluble Contracts.

FOUR or five Days after the Birth of a Child, the Midwife, the Nurse, the Dresser, and all the Gossips which were present, are convened to give their Testimony, which is registered, and at the same time the Infant is named.

* *Corpus Animæ Vas ac Vestimentum.*

THEIR Obsequies are without Pomp, without Funeral Orations, all which, according to their Notions, are as opposite to Christian Simplicity, as the *foolish Diversions* allowed by other Christians, at the Celebration of their Marriages. "Can any thing be more extravagant¹, than that the Friends and Relations of the Deceased, should with a sorrowful Countenance follow his Corps, and accompany it to the Grave in a Mourning Dress, and then come back to the House to drink and sometimes get drunk² in his Honour? What contrary Proceedings are these! is it not a mere comical Farce to see their formal affected Grief, seeming in their long black Cloaks to shed Tears for the Loss of a Parent or Friend, of whose Death they are heartily glad, for the sake of the Riches he has bequeathed to them? All those Abuses are avoided by the *Quakers*: They carry the Dead to their Burying-Place, without Attendance, or Mourning; and content themselves with a serious Meditation on the Frailty of human Life, and mutually exhorting each other to the Practice of Virtue, and to a faithful Imitation of the Deceased, if his Example was truly worthy of being followed, &c."

THESE are the most remarkable Customs and Opinions of the *Quakers*: We shall now go on to entertain our Readers with the astonishing Progress of that Sect. In the Year 1667, *Keith* being in Jail at *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, published a *Treatise of the immediate Revelation of Jesus Christ in Man*. *Penn* was likewise cast into Prison upon account of a Book, which, in the Opinion of the Orthodox, destroyed the Belief of the Trinity. One *Eccles*, a Visionary Writer, and obstinate Fanatick, who from a Musician was become a preaching Quaker, invented a new way of gaining Profelytes. He and three more forcibly entered into an Assembly of Catholics, carrying upon his Head a Chaffing-dish full of Fire, with which he threaten'd to burn them³ (probably in this and in the next World *unless they renounced their Idolatry*). He run about *London-Streets* with the same Fury, and at last met in *Ireland* with the Punishment he deserved. In the Year 1670, the *Quakers* were severely treated; and if the Account of that Persecution, as related by their Historian, is exactly conformable to Truth, the Persecutors are much more to be blamed than those whom they so cruelly persecuted. 'Tis very well worth Notice, that tho' the Obstinacy of the latter was as ridiculous in itself as it seems contrary to the true Spirit of Christianity; yet their Behaviour had something in it very moving, and apt to draw Compassion from the Spectators. For Instance, when they were thrust out with Violence, and all sorts of Affronts, from the Meeting-Places in which they were found assembled; they did not run away to screen themselves from the Insults of an incensed Mob; but gathered again at the Door of the House, and wilfully exposed themselves to the same Injuries and Outrages. The War of 1672 between *England* and *Holland*, brought them some Respite, and from that time (it may be said with Truth) the *English* accustomed themselves by degrees to bear the Sight of a *Quaker*.

HERE *Fox*, whom we have so long lost sight of, comes again upon the Stage: In 1671 he went to *America*, to visit all the Brethren *Quakers* dispersed in those Provinces of the *West-Indies* which are subject to *England*. At his Return he was

¹ See *Croesus*, p. 230.

² Drinking at Funerals is still practised, but neither so commonly, nor to the Excess mentioned by *Croesus*.

³ *Cæteroquin futurum ut universi igne intercant*. *Croesus*, p. 320.

again taken into Custody: My Lord *Hales* petition'd for and obtain'd *Fox's* Liberty, who made use of it, to write every where Letters of Advice and Exhortations, to gain Converts to *Quakerism*. He wrote to the *Jews* of *Amsterdam*, to the *Roman Catholics*, to the Pope himself, to the Princes of *Africa*, and even to the *Grand Turk*. But we need not give the Annals of his Fanatical Transactions; at last he died in the beginning of the Year 1691. His Body and Mind were equally indefatigable; the first by a strong and well-framed Constitution, the latter by Steadiness, Perseverance, and Fervency of Zeal: His Genius was no ways improved, and he naturally wanted a nice Taste and Penetration. Tho' he followed the Example of his Predecessors, the Fanatical Anabaptists, and slighted all Arts and Sciences, so as to be ignorant of their first and most common Principles; yet upon occasion he argued with so much Subtilty and Sharpness, as obtained him the Reputation of a Man of good Sense: He was laborious, unwearied, and never feared taking too much Pains even for Trifles. His Steadiness, or rather inflexible Obstinacy, in maintaining his erroneous Opinions, and warmly espousing the Cause and Defence of his Disciples, was not to be equalled: Add to these Qualities an exemplary Patience, and Sobriety of Life. He carefully shunned all Excess and Disorder, not so much with a View of preserving his Health, as out of Duty, and a religious Principle. He joined to a great Courage an extraordinary Boldness and Presumption, was so conceited of his own Merit, that he would be present at and concerned in every thing, and thought nothing well done but what he either advised, or put himself in Execution. A feigned Modesty and Simplicity served for a Disguise to this excessive Pride, which as it made him appear meek and affable to those of his Party; so it gave a Loose to a *Holy Indignation* against the rest of Mankind, chiefly those who opposed him: This indeed being to all outward Appearance a *Saint-like Anger*, did not allow him to offer any Injury to his Adversaries, except by Words; but, to translate literally the Words of the *Latin* Historian, *he hurt them by Words . . . as much as he was able*^b, and in that Point he was sometimes not only imprudent, but even most shameless and impudent. At his Death the *Quakers* ran into Party-Divisions, his Authority had preserved Unity amongst them, and prevented Cabals. We shall see in the Sequel of this Work, that the Opinion of *Keith* concerning the human Nature of Christ, gave Occasion to and was the Origin of those Dissensions, which by Schism were like to dissolve and bring Destruction on the whole Sect.

WE shall only glance here on the Conference held at *London* in 1674, between the *Anabaptists* and the *Quakers*. One *Hick*, an Anabaptist Minister, had injuriously attack'd the *Quakers*, laying it home to their Charge, that they were not Christians, and taxed them with teaching, that *Christ is not a Person out of Man*^c, but that the inward Light of every Man's Mind is Christ. This Accusation was grounded on this Saying, which is often to be met with in some Writers of the *Quakers* Sect, *No Man has ever seen Jesus Christ with the Eyes of his Body*. The Conference was held upon that Account, and if we give Credit to the *Latin* Historian, the Success of it was wholly to the Confusion of the *Anabaptists*. Two Years

^b See *Cresius*, lib. 2. p. 385. *Verbis . . . quantum poterat, ledens, in eoque interdum non solum imprudens, sed & inverecundissimus atque impudens.*

^c *Christum non esse Personam, quæ sit extra hominem, at hominis cujusque lucem mentis internam Christum esse.*

after Robert Barclay wrote and published the famous ^d Apology for the Quakers, which several Protestant Divines of Holland and Germany endeavoured to confute.

MUCH about the same time^e, Michael Molinos, a Spanish Priest, published in Italy, and in the Language of that Country, his *Spiritual Guide*, which contains the whole System of the mystical Doctrine of the *Quietists*. The Circumstance of the time in which *Quietism* began^f, and the wonderful Agreement of its Opinions with the Quakers Tenets, give us Ground to look upon both as Members of one and the same Sect; and it must be owned, that the Writings of one of the most considerable Quakers^g are so conformable to Molinos in the Turn of Thought and of the Expression, that the Difference betwixt them is almost imperceptible.

THE Persecution against the Quakers was carried on till the end of King Charles the Second's Reign. What their Historian relates upon this Article is so cruel and so odious, that it may serve to justify, at least in the Opinion of Men, the greatest Excesses which want of Toleration has produced in all other Religions. James the Second, upon his Accession to the Throne, seemed at first to incline towards a general Liberty of Conscience, with a View of favouring his own Religion, by a Method which might meet with the Approbation of, and give flattering Hopes to, all Parties. The Quakers, in their Address of Congratulation, speaking in a Style conformable to their Principles, "We hear, said they, that thou art not
" in the Sentiments of the Church of England, any more than we are: We beg
" of thee the same Liberty which thou takest for thyself." This Petition had its desired Success, and the Quakers experienced the King's good Will towards a Toleration. About fifteen hundred of them, who had been confined, were set at liberty: Notwithstanding this, as several of them were again thrown into Jail, for refusing to take the Oaths, to pay Tythes, or to contribute to the Exigencies of the State; the King ordered them to be released, and would not suffer them to be molested either upon account of their Opinions, or for their Customs: So they were allowed to deal with the Sovereign, as if he had been a private Person, to stand in his Presence with their Hats upon their Heads, to *Thou* him, and speak to him familiarly as one of their Equals.

PENN was in great Favour with James the Second, which he made use of to serve his Sect: But as he was accused of advising the King to abolish the *Test and Penal Laws*; his own Party had a Mistrust of him, and he was hated by the other Protestants, all being convinced, that such a Project could have no other Tendency than to settle the Popish Religion in England. The Protestants called him a *Papist* and a *Jesuit*. The Quakers foreseeing, and fearing that the taking away the Test and Penal Laws would restore Popery, openly declared, that a Prince of that Religion, when he once found himself settled upon the *English Throne*, would certainly renew those Laws against all Protestants. Penn had given just Grounds to

^d It was presented to Charles the second: the Author, in the *Dedication*, addresses the King thus, "Thou hast tasted Sweetness and Bitterness, Prosperity and Adversity; thou hast been driven out of the Country in which now thou dost reign. Thou hast felt the Weight of Oppression, and thou knowest the Oppressor is hateful to God and Men instead of hearing the Voice of flattering Courtiers, hearken to thy own Conscience, which will never flatter thee." The Author of *Letters Philosophiques* says, that this Letter wrote to the King by an obscure private Man, put an end to the Persecution; but Barclay was not an obscure private Man, and the Persecution lasted to the End of King Charles's Reign.

^e See vol. i. of this Work.

^f Or rather was renewed.

^g Croesius, lib. 2. p. 350. There Keith mentions, *The Influence of God on the Soul; Perseverance in Quietness*, before the Soul proceeds to *Activity*; a *Divine and Holy Life*; the Spirit moving and acting in us, giving Liberty to act, ordaining or permitting the *Action*: Faith, like a *Graft*, draws all the Juice, &c. which mystical Jargon is also used by the *Quietists*.

entertain disadvantageous Suspicions of him. He had published a Book against Penal Laws; he had always professed an universal Toleration, by which every Christian was to be left at full Liberty to serve God according to his own way of thinking, and no Man excluded from bearing even the highest Offices and Employments in the State, upon this one only Condition, that he should behave himself peaceably and with Moderation in those Posts. Now he thought it high time to publish his own Apology, and to defend himself from the Charge of being a Papist. This convinced his Brethren the *Quakers*, and he regained by it their good Graces. But other Protestants in *England*, particularly the *French* Refugees, could not be persuaded to lay aside the bad Opinion they had of him; which was confirmed by a Letter which King *James* wrote to *Penn* from *France*, after the Revolution had been brought about by King *William* the third. *Penn* was strictly examined concerning this Correspondence: His Answer was noble^b, generous and wise: But Party-Animosity made it be looked upon in the Hurry of Spirits at that time, as a bare-faced espousing King *James's* Cause. And most Protestants, chiefly News and Libel-Writers, thought it no less a Crime than High Treason, to profess a Friendship for that Prince. From that time *Penn* retired to a more private Life, and minded only his Family Concerns till the Year 1693. Now we shall entertain our Readers with *Penn's* Performances in *America*.

LONG before his time, as early as the Year 1653, some *Quakers* went over to the *English* Colonies settled in the *New World*, or *West-Indies*; they met there with the worst of Treatment, and the severest Laws were made against them; they were fined, whipt, imprisoned, &c. If we give any Credit to their Records, they were dealt with more humanely by the savage Inhabitants, than by their own Countrymen the *English*. This is likely, and not to be wondered at; the Notions of those Savages were accompanied with a native Simplicity, as ours ought to be, and probably would be, if not over-burdened with the Prejudice of a wrong Education, which by imperceptible Degrees gives us a Bent to Evil, and to Persecution. Besides Fines, Banishment, and other Penalties, a new Law was made to stop the Progress of *Quakerism*, by which it was enacted, that every Convert to that Sect, every Person convicted of being a *Quaker*, should for the first Offence, if a Man, lose one of his Ears, if a Woman be whipt. At last even Death was inflicted on the more obstinate; and some *Quakers* were hanged at *Boston*. Enough of this disagreeable Subject, we must now return to *Penn*.

THE King and Parliament, (being willing to make him some Amends for the large Sums of Money which his Father had advanced for the Service of the Crown, and which had not been paid to him) gave him in 1680 the Property and Sovereignty of a Province in *America*, which lies South of *Maryland*. The new Owner called it from his own Name *Pennsylvania*; peopled it with *Quakers*, built in it the Town of *Philadelphia*^k, entered into a strict Alliance with the Natives of the Country, gave Laws to his new Republick, and settled, as we shall see, a Toleration and 'a Christian Liberty, which promotes and keeps up Christianity and a true Sense of Religion, far better than Penal Laws, provided *Libertinism* is not tolerated under the specious Pretence of Liberty. " He declared that all those (who acknow-

^b He declared that he had no Share in King *James's* Designs, but owned himself to be a Friend of that Prince, whom he had loved in his Prosperity, and did not think himself obliged to hate in his Adversity.

^k The Capital Town of that Province was so named to be a standing Monument of the Union and Brotherly Love of the Sect.

^k *Crocius*, lib. 3. p. 439.

“ ledged One God, Almighty, the Creator and Preserver of the World, and testified
 “ this their Belief by serving faithfully that supreme Being, and exactly comply-
 “ ing with the Rules of Virtue, which alone can enable Man to approach, and
 “ become in some measure like unto his Creator) should enjoy an entire Freedom,
 “ should never be forced to the Observance of any Religious Ceremony, against
 “ the Dictates of their own Consciences, nor required to be present at a Form of
 “ Worship which they disliked ; and that if any one molested any ways his Fellow-
 “ Citizen upon account of Religion, he should be punished as a seditious Person,
 “ and a Disturber of the publick Tranquillity.” So just a Law put a Stop to
 both Hypocrisy and Profaneness, and left no Room for Ecclesiastical Factions, which
 have so often forwarded the Ruin of great Empires. Not satisfied with so general
 a Toleration of all Sects and Religions, and with requiring nothing more of those
 who had a Mind to settle in his Republick, than to believe in God ; he even
 allowed them to bear any Offices, and enjoy the highest Posts in the State ; tho’
 at the same time the *Quakers* could scarce ever fail of being chosen, more by Reason
 of their superior Numbers, than by Solicitations of Party-Interest ; which is quite
 opposite, says their Historian, to the Simplicity and Plain-dealing of *Quakerism*.
 This Author seems to suppose, that such good Dispositions are unchangeable, that
 those Laws never have, nor ever can admit of Exceptions, or be infringed ; but
 we are ignorant of those Privileges, and dare not warrant that any State can for
 some Ages preserve this primitive Simplicity : On the contrary, a Doubt proposed in
 a disagreeable Manner, a new and unexpected way of solving that Doubt, may easily
 occasion the Loss of it ; and this was very near being brought about, as may be
 seen in the following Account. This new Republick was scarce settled, when
*Keith*¹ occasioned in it very warm Debates, which divided the *Pennsylvanians* into
 different Parties. The Matter in Dispute was *Keith’s* Opinion concerning the hu-
 man Nature of Christ, which, he pretended, was twofold, the one Heavenly, Spi-
 ritual and Eternal ; the other Earthly and truly Corporal. This last was the Body
 of Christ born of the *Virgin Mary*. We have already mentioned a Book published
 by *Keith*, in which he endeavoured to prove the Truth of this Paradox, which
 seemed to make a double Christ ; at least this was objected to *Keith* by his Adver-
 saries. He maintained on the other Side that his Sentiments had been constantly
 taught by all *Quakers* from the first Origin of the Sect ; that it was the Ground-work
 and Support of Christianity, and that the Truth and Orthodoxy of it could not be
 questioned, without denying the Passion and Death of Christ : He even threatened a
 Separation from those who opposed him in it. Those who had declared themselves
 against *Keith* were also at Variance amongst themselves : Some held that Christ did
 not rise from the Dead, or go up into Heaven with that Body which was born of
Mary ; others owned that Christ rose from Death with that Body, but left it at
 his Ascension : Most remained in Suspence, and, as their Historian says, *either*
knew not what they said^m, *or what they should have said*. Those who were more
 moderate were of opinion, that such Questions were of no great Importance, and
 useles to Salvation. These vain Enquiries brought on others full as vain. They
 thought fit to embroil themselves in new Quarrels about *the State of Souls after Death* ;
 several maintained that the Good went immediately to Heaven, and the Bad to Hell :

¹ *Croesus*, p. 446, and following.

^m *Neque quid dicerent, cognoscebant*. This will bear the two Senses as above.

Their Adversaries objected, that it followed from thence, that both were judged as soon as dead, and that by Consequence there was to be no Resurrection of the Flesh, nor an universal Judgment. Other *Quakers* held that Mankind had Heaven and Hell within them in this Life. Moreover, *Keith* was accused of believing the Transfiguration of Souls. These frivolous Questions were debated with much Heat, Bitterness and Obstinacy; and at last became the chief Object of a general Assembly of the *Quakers* in 1691. *Keith* got the Victory, his Doctrine concerning Christ was declared orthodox; but he was soon after obliged to fight new Battles, and bear new Assaults. *Fitzwater* accused him of teaching, that the *Light of Christ* was not sufficient for Mankind: Those, who by order of the general Assembly, were to give him Satisfaction, and make him some Reparation, refused to comply, and persisted in their old Sentiments, and at last obtained a Revision of the Decision made in the Assembly of 1691. This was done in the Meeting of 1692, in which the Intrigues of *Keith's* Enemies prevailed; he was condemned, without being heard, and dealt with as one who has not the Fear of God. This unwarrantable Proceeding was accompanied with other Circumstances, which we omit, and which obliged *Keith* and his Adherents to appeal^a from that Sentence to the King and Queen^o of England. The Appeal did not take place, *Keith* gave way to the repeated Solicitations of his Friends who intreated him to yield, and prevent a greater Breach. The *Quakers* of London were soon apprised of those Dissensions by *Keith* himself, who was returned from America; and notwithstanding all possible Precautions were used to prevent the Contagion of those Disputes from spreading farther, yet the English *Quakers* were likewise divided into two Factions. A new Profession of Faith was drawn up, the yearly General Assembly was called; but those two Grand Remedies, which in all Communions are applied to Ecclesiastical Dissensions, proved fruitless amongst the *Quakers*, as they often do elsewhere. Three Synods one after another examined the controverted Points; their Endeavours to reconcile both Parties were unsuccessful. At last, in the Assembly of 1695, it was determined that *Keith* (who was as stubborn in the Defence of his Conduct, and of his Doctrine, as explained in the Course of those Disputes, as his Enemies had been in carping at his Expressions) should no more be looked upon as a Brother, but declared guilty of Schism, and remain in a State of Separation and Exclusion from the Society of *Quakers*, till such time as he should publicly own his Fault, and sincerely repent.

THESE are the most material Occurrences which we could gather concerning the Growth of *Quakerism* in the English Dominions. The Author of *Lettres Philosophiques* says, that "the Religion of the *Quakers*..... daily loses Ground in London: In all Countries the predominant Religion, if it abstains from Persecution, swallows up all others..... They are obliged to get Money by Trade. Their Children grown rich by the Industry of their Parents, are desirous of enjoying their Fortune, of obtaining Honours and Preferments, and of being better dressed; they grow ashamed of the Denomination of *Quakers*, and become modish Protestants." If this Account proves true, some other Sect may rise in their Stead, which may

^a In the Grant of *Pennsylvania*, Charles the Second had reserved to the Crown the Right of judging without Appeal, whatever Causes could not be decided by the Colony, or were not decided to the Satisfaction of all Parties concerned.

^o William and Mary.

make the Loss of the *Quakers* regretted, and that said of them one Day which the Emperor *Galba* said of *Nero*¹.

THE² Author of *Memoirs and Observations*, &c. mentions a Sect of *Philadelphians*³, "who pretend that their Society is the Bud or Shoot and Beginning of the true Church, the Virgin-Spouse of Christ, whose Members dispersed amongst all other Religions in the World, will soon come forth and join themselves to the *Philadelphians*, to form this pure and undefiled Church, according to the Pattern set them in the beginning of Christianity by the Church of *Philadelphia*!" The said Writer says these *Philadelphians* are generally thought to be Quakers.

THE Compilers of Catalogues of Sectaries have made mention of *Muggletonians* and *Reevians*; this is what they mean. Two Fanatical *Quakers* or *Anabaptists* about the Year 1653 or 1654. took it in their Heads to publish in *London* that they were the two last Prophets of Our Lord *Jesus Christ*, named and sent by him to prepare Mankind for his Coming with his Angels and ten thousand Saints, &c. They had a few Followers, and arrived at so great a Pitch of Impudence, as to forbid the *English* Clergy to exercise any pastoral Function, under pain of eternal Damnation.

STOUPPE, who wrote a small Pamphlet under the Title of *Dutch Religion*, mentions also a Sect of *Borrelists*: We very much doubt whether there are any Remains of it still subsisting. We dare not even take it upon us to affirm, that the Account given by him is true; he had been a Minister⁴, being converted was raised to the Post of a General Officer in the *French Army*: besides this his shifting Sides, he is guilty of two considerable Faults as an Historian, a great Inverteracy against the *Hollanders*, and a great Negligence or Ignorance, if not something worse, in the Accounts he gives of the Heresies in *Holland*. However "the *Borrelists*", says he, had their Appellation from their chief Leader one *Borelle*⁵, a "Man very well versed. . . . in the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* Languages. He was "Brother to Mr. *Borel*, Ambassador from the States of *Holland*, at the Court of "Lewis the fourteenth. The *Borrelists* hold most of the Opinions of the *Menonites*, though they do not frequent their Assemblies; their way of living is very "severe, spending most of their Substance in Alms-Deeds, and strictly complying "with Christian Duties. They are very averse to communicating with other "Congregations, to the use of the Sacraments, publick Service, or any other "exteriour Acts of Divine Worship! They maintain, that all the Churches which "are now in the World, or have been since the Apostles have lost the "Purity of sound Doctrine. . . . having suffered the Word of God. . . . which "is contain'd in the Old and New Testament, to be explained, or rather corrupted, by Doctors who are not infallible; yet pretend that their Profession of "Faith, their Catechisms, Liturgies and Sermons, are the pure Word of God, "which is very false, they being only the Produce of human Wit and Industry. "They maintain, that the Word of God must be read by itself, without any Interpretation of Men; if there was any Communion, in which nothing was read "but the Word of God, all those who own the Scripture to be the Word of God, "should be admitted into that Society, let their Character, and other good or bad

¹ *Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabatur. . . . providendum est ne etiam a bonis desideretur.* Tacit. Hist. lib. 1.

² P. 369 and following; he wrote in 1697. These Notions are like those of the *Rosierucians*.

³ *Revel.* chap. 3. v. 7. and following.

⁴ He was killed at the Battle of *Steinkirk* in 1692.

⁵ He spells *Borellists* and *Borelle*, instead of *Borel*. This Family of the *Borels* has filled with Reputation the highest Posts in the State.

⁶ We believe his Name was *Adam Boreel*.

"Qualities be what they would." Two things are to be taken Notice of concerning this real or pretended Sect; first, that these Opinions about the Corruption of all Churches, the Usefulness of Sacraments, &c. seems to be no more than an ill-contrived Mixture, of the *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Quakers* Notions, jumbled together by *Stouppe* himself, or by those who furnished him with Memoirs. Secondly, that the chief, if not the only, Heresy, which can with Truth be charged upon upon *Borel*, is what he maintained in the Year 1645. viz. that the Word of God contained the Old and New Testament^a, ought not to be explained or preached, but only read. This being, in his way of thinking, an infallible Method to put an end to and prevent all Schisms; from which erroneous Opinion, an Infinity of mad Consequences have been drawn; a plentiful Harvest for such Authors as *Stouppe*, *Jovet*, *Ross*, *Pratcolus*, and others who may come after them!

FOX the Founder and Patriarch of the *Quakers* sent Missionaries into *Holland*^r; they settled in several Towns of the united Provinces; from thence they penetrated into *Westphalia*, and the Princess Palatine *Elizabeth*, being in that Country, was pleased to hear them preach^s. One *Ames* began a Settlement at *Amsterdam*, at *Rotterdam*, and in other Places. They behaved as in *England*. Having^a received an Order to withdraw from thence, they would not obey, but staid; they were forbid to preach, and sent to Prison. As soon as they were set at Liberty, they preached openly in the publick Places; if they were banished from a Town over Night, early next Morning they came into it again: They met every where with the like Treatment, were thrown into Jail, or confined to Mad-houses; at last they settled, and by their strange Behaviour or Obstinacy forced the Magistrates to tolerate or rather despise them. *Quakerism* remained in this low Situation till about the Year 1664; at which time, much to their Prejudice, they were confounded with the Socinians. But this Cloud^b being dispersed, the Sect fixed itself, and held some Rank amongst the many others which swarm in that Country: This happened about 1669. At the Beginning of the War with *France* in 1672, they settled in *Friesland*; from thence they proceeded to *East-Friesland*, and began to make a Settlement at *Emden* in 1674; but the same Persecutions which they had met with in other Places, attended them likewise in that Town: In short, they made little or no Progress in *Germany*, or in the^c *Palatinate*.

THE *Quakers* made some Attempts on the Side of *France*: Two of their Missionaries began to dogmatize at *Dunkirk*, a third did the same at *Calais*, a fourth went further into that Country. The three first thought fit to retire with some Haste, from a Country where Fanaticks are punished like State-Criminals; the fourth probably perished, having never been heard of since^d. From that time we

meet

^a See *Ottii Annal. Anab. Ann. 1645.*

^r The first Missionaries went over in 1655.

^s The Author of *Lettres Philosophiques* says, that the *Friends* (so the *Quakers* call themselves) had an Audience of the Princess at the *Hague*. *Fox* sent to her two *Female Quakers*, who had some Conference with her Highness; who answered *Fox* with great Civility, and sent him Word, that she was willing to hear his Advice, and of the *Friends*. *Penn* likewise had some Discourse with the Princess.

^a This happened to the *Quakers* at *Amsterdam*.

^b The States had published a Decree against the *Socinians*, &c. The Synods of *Holland* endeavoured to see it executed. The States of *Friesland* had likewise put out an Edict against the *Socinians*, the *Quakers*, and the *Anabaptists*: These last were known then in *England* by the Name of *Dippers*.

^c The *Quakers* are distinguished in *Germany* from the *Anabaptists* only as the *Species* from the *Genus*, not without some Foundation, as is evident by comparing their Doctrine. See *Ottii Annal. Anabapt.*

During the War which followed the Revolution of 1688, a *Female Quaker*, named *Ester Bidley*, took it into her Head to go, as being sent from God, and exhort to Peace all the Powers then at War. She addressed first *Mary*, King *William's* Queen. That Princess had the Goodness to hearken to this pretended Ambassador's Representations; who being thus encouraged, her Zeal or Fanaticism was raised to such a Pitch,

meet with no other Sect which bears any Resemblance to *Quakerism*, except the *Prophets of Dauphiné*, and *Fanaticks of Cevennes*: to which some are willing to add, the Convulsions of *St. Medard*, occasioned by the Honour paid to *Mr. Paris* a Deacon, who died in the Odour of Sanctity, in *May 1727*. The Disputes on that Head run so high in *France*, that being at so great a Distance, we are not yet willing to take any Share in them: But we may safely rank in that Order the *French Prophets of London*, who have since been dispersed in *Amsterdam*, *Berlin* and other Places from which they have been banished. But before we give an Account of them, we must present our Readers with a regular System of the Quakers Doctrine.

The BELIEF of the QUAKERS.

IT is not an easy Task to draw up an entire System or Body of the Quakers Doctrine: and we shall soon find the same Difficulty in what concerns the *Anabaptists*. The *Quakers* Teachers are not all of the same Opinions; one and the same Man varies in his Notions, their Expressions are so dark and mysterious, that like the *Alchymists* Language, they are unintelligible even to themselves; in which case they cannot make themselves be understood by others. Nevertheless, we shall attempt an Exposition of their Faith, as delivered by a modern Author^d.

EVERY one who leads a moral Life, and from the Sincerity of his Heart complies with the Duties of natural Religion, must be deemed an essentially good Christian. An Historical Faith and Belief of some extraordinary Facts, which the Christians own for Truths, is the only real Difference between a virtuous Pagan and a good Christian, and this Faith is not necessary to Salvation.

CHRIST is the true inward Light, which enlightens all Men. This is performed by an immediate Inspiration, and not by the outward Doctrine of the Gospel, which Christ has preached to Men as a Rule of their Belief and Practice. Which outward Preaching of Evangelical Truths, is not the usual and ordinary Method used by God to enlighten Mankind; but he sends to each Person interior Inspirations. This

Pitch, that she begged of the Queen to furnish her with Means to go over to *France*, being resolved, she said, to present her self to the King of that Country, in order to make the like Remonstrances to him from God. The Queen endeavoured to dissuade her from that rash Design; but not being able to overcome her Obstinacy, was pleased to yield to her Desires, and to bestow on her some Money towards defraying the Expences of her Journey. With this Help our Ambassadors reached *St. German*, had an Audience of King *James* the Second, shewed him her Credentials for *Lewis* the fourteenth, the Contents of which were, "That by the Order of God, Sovereign Monarch of all Monarchs, she came to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, to desire him to make Peace with God and other Nations, and by "that Method to put a Stop "to the Effusion of Blood, which was daily spilt in such Streams as threatened Destruction to Mankind." *James* was not unacquainted with this female *Quaker*, who had before presented to him such Petitions: He sent her to the Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis's* Brother, who gave her to understand, that she could not see the King: To which she answered, with Tears in her Eyes, "I daily converse with the King of Kings; "shall I then be denied Audience for a Moment by the King of one single Nation!" However *Lewis* hearing of this, was desirous to see this extraordinary Person, and gave her Audience in Presence of his whole Court; and having heard patiently what she had to say, told her, "Good Woman, I desire Peace "as much as you do; go to the Prince of *Orange*, and tell him he may have it when he pleases." He dismissed her with this Answer, and ordered a Sum of Money to be paid to her for her Journey homewards. We cannot help taking notice, that great Revolutions in Church or State are always favourable to Fanaticism, and there are more pretended Prophecies and Inspirations at those Times than at any other. Such was the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, the *French* Protestants being *Refugees*, the *English* Revolution of 1688. What a Number of Prophets swarmed on those Occasions! How many shewed so much Favour to them, as to look upon their Opposers as so many Spies, Jesuits, and Apostates? But what is still more surprising, all these Prophets still loved *Egypt*, desired and hoped to return thither, the *Manna of the Desert* was less agreeable to them than the *Onions of Egypt*.

^d Smith, in his *Preservative against Quakerism*. See likewise *Crocius*, p. 113, and following, of his *Hist. Quaker*.

interiour Light is the true Gospel, it is to be adored as being Christ himself and God himself.

SCRIPTURE is not the true Rule; the real Guide of Christian Faith and moral Doctrine: This is a Prerogative belonging only to the inward Light, which each has within himself, or which breaks forth in the Assemblies of the Brethren or Friends (as the Quakers are called in Holland.) The *Dead Letter* of the sacred Writings is not of so great Authority as the Preaching of the Authors of them: The particular Books which make up the Scripture, were directed to private Churches or Persons, and we are not interested in them.

THE publishing of the Gospel has not abolished immediate Inspiration: As there are many particular Cases, which cannot be decided by Scripture, it necessarily follows, that the *Light within* is the true and only Rule by which Mankind is to be governed and directed. We must not judge of the Certainty of Revelations by Scripture, but each Faithful must have an immediate Inspiration; and we are not obliged to comply with the Precepts of the Gospel, unless they are confirmed by this Inspiration.

THE chief Rule of our Faith is the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who interiorly teaches us; and the Scripture is only a Rule subordinate to that Spirit. An immediate Inspiration is as necessary to us as to the Apostles: It teaches us whatever is necessary to Salvation. The Promise which Christ made to his Apostles *to teach them all Truth by his Spirit*, and that the Holy Ghost *should always remain with them*, was not confined to the Apostles only, it belongs to all the Faithful; and 'tis said of them all, that the *Unction shall teach them all things*.

AN immediate Conversation with God is much to be preferred to a mediate one. *The Pleasure and Satisfaction which we enjoy in our Assemblies at the Manifestation of the Spirit, is a certain Proof of his dwelling within us.*

THE interiour Witnessing of the Spirit, is the most certain Proof of the Truth of Christianity, and of the Divine Authority of Scripture: Tho' other exterior Proofs of those Truths be ever so strong, still this Testimony is necessary, and the Scripture cannot be understood without it; but Recourse must be had to the Spirit alone, in order to penetrate into the dark Mysteries contained in those sacred Books.

ALL true Ministers of Christ are as infallible in what they teach, as the Prophets and Apostles were: otherwise the Spirit of Christ would not be infallible. All those who are filled with the Gifts of the Spirit are equally infallible, without which the Infallibility of the Holy Ghost must be divided; there is no exterior way of Teaching, which may help one to judge of the Truth of the Doctrine which he preaches. The immediate Inspiration is sufficient to enable a Minister

* *W'yth*, in his Book intituled, *Switch for the Snake*, asserts these Propositions: The *Light within* is always communicated to the Ministers of the Quakers in a supernatural Manner, which raises them to Prophecy and Visions: God is made manifest to his Children, in the highest Degree of immediate Revelation; by virtue of which Privilege, the Ministers receive the Gospel, or the Word of God, as St. Paul, immediately from Christ: Those who are not infallible have not the Spirit; or Word for Word as he expresses it, are not in the Spirit: and by consequence, are not the true Ministers. Each true Member of the true Church, enjoys a Certainty and Infallibility of Judgment, by which he is absolutely convinced of the Truths he professes. All the Members of Christ's Church have some Share of the Spirit of Christ: the smallest Share of that Spirit, the least Manifestation of it (or the *Light within*) is infallible. Yet the Infallibility of the Church as a Body is greater. Who can reconcile such jarring Notions? which we meet with sometimes, tho' not always in the same Writer.

Yet they own the sacred and inspired Writers had a clearer Manifestation of the Spirit than the Quakers of these Days. More Contradiction still! they nevertheless pretend, that those who by their Obedience increase and improve their Talent, may obtain the Spirit in the same Degree for the reading and explaining Scripture, as the Apostles and Prophets had to write it.

to preach without Scripture, or any other exterior Helps. Without this particular Inspiration, all those who pretend to argue upon or explain the Words of Christ, are false Prophets and Deceivers. The Church ought to have no other Ministers, but those who are called by an immediate Inspiration, which is best proved by interior Miracles, of which the outward Signs were only a Representation or Figure. The *Quakers* do not preach a new Gospel, and therefore need not work Miracles to prove their Doctrine: a visible Succession of Ministers ordained, or otherwise established, is likewise of no Use. Whoever is inwardly called to the ministerial Functions, is sufficiently qualified for that Post; inward Sanctity is as essentially requisite in a true Minister, as in a true Member of the Church.

SOME *Jews, Turks and Pagans*^e, may be true Members of the Church, though they are out of its exterior Communion, and have not the least Knowledge of Christ or of Scripture. 'Tis an insufferable Pride in the Ministers to affect being called *Clergy*. This Appellation belongs to every Christian; he is an unfaithful Minister, who preaches only the outward Christ, instead of preaching Christ who is within us, and endeavouring to make the People sensible of his Presence.

WOMEN may preach with as much Authority as Men, and be Ministers of the Church; for in Christ there is no Distinction of Male and Female, and the Prophet *Joel* has foretold, that Women should have the Gift of Prophecy as well as Men.

'Tis a Dishonour to the Ministry of the Gospel, 'tis degrading it to Mechanism, to settle Salaries and Pensions for the Maintenance of the Ministers, who afterwards exact them as a Debt. Paying Tythes is a Judaical Practice, and a Mark of Antichrist. He is a false Prophet, and condemned by Christ, who gets a Salary for performing Ministerial Functions.

THE Scripture no where says, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three Persons; there are three divers Manifestations; but three Persons would in Reality be three Gods. The Scripture being silent as to the manner of the Unity, and of the Distinction in the Trinity, 'tis a great Rashness in the Christian Churches to meddle with deciding such intricate Points^b. The Distinction of Persons in the Godhead is a speculative Subtlety, no ways to mend our Lives, and very prejudicial to Christian Peace and Charity. To draw up an exact Profession of Faith, 'tis necessary to stick close to the Expressions used in Scripture.

THE true Christ is he who existed before he was manifested in the Flesh, and who has never been seen with the Eyes of the Flesh. Jesus Christ as God has a heavenly Humanity, of which the earthly one is but the outward Garment, the Type or Figure. Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, did not personally unite himself to our human Nature, he only took it as a Suit of Clothes, which he was to put on for a while. This human Nature was inspired, as other Men, but in a superiour and more particular Degree. Christ could not be united to a corrupt Nature: his interior Birth within Men, is a greater Mystery than his outward Nativity. The Faith in and the Knowledge of Christ, according to the Flesh, and of his Mysteries, were but the first Elements fit for the Infancy of Christianity, which being over, those Rudiments become useless; we now have learned to

^e Long before there were any Quakers in the World, some Authors have been of opinion, that the Pagans had by Tradition a general (even an inward) Light; which whoever followed, might be saved by this Light, which supplied the Want of Revelation. But how can this be reconciled to this favourite and flattering Notion, that there is but one People chosen and beloved by God, exclusively of all others?

^b This is a Proof that many *Arians, Socinians and Antitrinitarians*, are concealed amongst the *Quakers*.

be in Christ, to become new Creatures, to let old things pass away in order to make room for the new.

THE Expiation of our Sins has not been *merited* by the outward Spilling of Christ's Blood, which was not more precious than that of any other Saint : Neither has the Church been redeemed by it, but by an inward and spiritual Blood, which purifies our Hearts and Consciences, of which the Scripture says, it was spilt for our Justification ; lastly, of which Christ himself says, that *he who does not drink his Blood shall not have Life in him.*

THE Scripture does not say that Christ satisfied the Justice of God for our Sins. As God may without any Injustice forgive our Sins without such a Satisfaction, it was not necessary, neither can it be reconciled with the gratuitous Remission of our Sins : and moreover, God's punishing his own Son who was innocent, is contrary to divine Justice.

CHRIST did not go up to Heaven with the Body which he had on Earth, which is not now in Heaven at the Right Hand of God. 'Tis an erroneous Opinion to think or believe that the Body of Christ which is in Heaven, occupies and fills any particular and limited Place : The Body of Christ is wherever his Spirit is ; and it cannot save us, if Distance of Place separates it from us : whoever preaches a Doctrine opposite to these Propositions, is a false Minister, and deceitful Teacher, The same Gift of Discernment in the Examen of Spirits, which was bestowed on the Apostles, remains still in the Church.

OUR Sins being once forgiven, it is wholly unnecessary to repent of them any further, or to go on in asking Forgiveness for them. We cannot become God's Servants unless we are first purified. The first Anabaptists were of the same Opinion, as we shall see in the Sequel of this Work.

GOD accepts not the Justice of any one, till he has first fulfilled all the Law and Justice. 'Tis possible to attain the Perfection of Justice, so as to commit no Sin ; and to live without any Sin is a necessary Condition to be saved. There are no Grounds in Scripture to make a Distinction of two sorts of Sins, and of Sinners. Lastly, God not only requires that we should abstain from Sin, and become exempt from it by our Endeavours ; he further requires such a perfect Knowledge and Grace, as may not admit of any Increase.

ANY Oath, even in a Court of Justice, is a Sin ; Christ has forbid it.

WAR is not lawful, nor to repel Force by Force : This is the Meaning of Christ's Precept, not to resist Evil.

ALL Killing of Men, even in War, is opposite to the Command of loving our Enemies : Titles of Honour, and Distinctions which denote some particular Respect, taking the Hat off the Head, or bowing to testify this Respect, are unlawful. The Command of honouring Father and Mother is to be explained of an inward Respect only. We ought not to conform to the Fashions of the World, and to take or give the Title of *You* : is contrary both to Humility and Truth.

No one is obliged to be of the Communion of the Church by Law established. Scripture ought not to be called *the Word of God*. This Appellation belongs only to Christ.

GOD has not commanded that Scripture should be read in publick divine Service. Ministers have no Grounds or Authority to preach on the Texts of Scripture ; and St. Paul says himself, that he is not a *Minister of the Letter, but of the Spirit.*

ⁱ *The Holy Spirit enjoins us, says Wyeth, to use Thee and Thou, or the plain Language.*

GOD imprints his Laws in the Hearts of the Faithful, either by an immediate Inspiration, or by the Ministry of those who are inspired immediately. Some Persons attain to so high a Degree of Knowledge and Faith, that the Ministry and exterior Laws are of no Use to them.

ALL outward Prayers, or such as are accompanied with exterior Signs^k, are not pleasing to God, unless they are the Effect of an immediate Inspiration from him. There is no Necessity of setting a particular determinate time for publick or private Prayers, for either Morning or Evening. Man always acts by an *Impulse* stronger or weaker, which induces him to pray inwardly: And this is the true Meaning of those Texts of Scripture which forbid Praying or Preaching without a particular Motion from God: From whence it follows, that Silence is to be kept in publick Assemblies, when no body present feels that Motion. The Christians of our Days, as the Prophets and the Apostles heretofore, have peculiar Inspirations by which they are disposed to pray; so that all Set-Forms of Prayer, are not compatible with the Motions of the Spirit. The true Sense of the Order which Christ has given us to watch for Prayer, is that we must expect the Motion of the Spirit, the fore-mentioned Impulse; which if we do not feel, we need not pray before, or after Meals.

OUR Prayers ought not to be offered to God in the Name of Jesus the Son of Mary, nor to Jesus Christ corporally and exteriorly residing in Heaven; in a word, all outward Signs of Veneration and Respect in the publick Worship, is contrary to the Precept of honouring and *adoring God in Spirit and Truth*.

OUTWARD Baptism is not an Ordinance of Christ, or at least not to be observed as a perpetual Law. Whoever pretends that Christ's Order is to be understood of Water-Baptism adds to the Text, which does not mention Water. The Baptism enjoined by Christ is a Baptism of Spirit not of Water. The Water-Baptism was St. John's, and has been abolished. St. Paul says he was not sent to baptize, but to preach. Water-Baptism was used by the Apostles only as a Toleration for the Weakness of the Jews, but it can do no good to the Soul. Baptism by Infusion is no where mentioned in Scripture. Water-Baptism, and the spiritual Baptism, are two intirely different Baptisms. The inward Baptism alone is the true Baptism of Christ.

CHILDREN ought not to be baptised, since they are not capable of taking any Engagement upon themselves, or of making a Profession of Faith, or of answering to God according to the Testimony of a good Conscience.

TAKING or receiving the Eucharist is not a perpetual Obligation; it was instituted heretofore only for those who were newly converted to the Christian Religion, or for weak Christians in the Beginning of their Christianity.

IF we find within ourselves, what is signified by Baptism, by the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, both these Sacraments become usefess to us. The Gospel being the Substance of Religion, all exterior Rites are but Shadows, which are of no use to those who have the Substance. Those who pretend to be immediately inspired, are not obliged to conform to the Institution of Baptism, the Eucharist, and their outward Ceremonies and Signs. These Words of the Apostle St. Paul, *The Bread which we break, and the Wine which we drink, are the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ*, are not meant of the Eucharist. The Commemoration of

^k The Quakers say likewise, that to *practise any Command of Scripture without the Moving of the Spirit, is an Abomination to the Lord.*

the Death of Christ may and ought to be made at all times, without partaking of the Eucharist, by which not the *Earthly Body and Blood of Christ* is given us, but his *Heavenly Body*, which alone communicates Life unto Men.

THE eternal Happiness of the Soul is not to consist in its Re-union to the Body: the Resurrection of which cannot help to increase the Happiness or Misery of Men.

WHAT is said of the Raising of the Dead to Life, is not to be always understood of the Resurrection of the Body. The Apostle calls them *Fools*, who are too inquisitive into the Nature of the Resurrection.

THE Body which is to rise again will not be substantially the same: for *Flesh and Blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*. The Belief of the Resurrection of the Body *substantially the same*, is not a fundamental Article of Christian Faith. A Body which changes cannot be the same in Substance: but be that as it will, it is not of great Importance to believe the Resurrection of the same Body, so we believe that we shall rise again with a Body. Neither is it to our Purpose to know when that shall happen.

BESIDES the Coming of Christ in the *Flesh* at Jerusalem, he will come again at the end of the World.

HEAVEN is the Presence of God within Men: Christ himself says his Kingdom is within us.

HE is strangely and foolishly fanciful, who believes that the Heaven of God and his Saints is a visible and material Place, that we shall live there as we do here, or that Heaven bears any Resemblance with this visible World.

THERE is no Harm, much less is it a Heresy, to deny that Heaven and Hell are a Space, or particular Place: By the word *Heaven* something spiritual is to be understood.

TO the above-mentioned Account of the Belief of *Quakers*, which we have extracted out of the *Preservative against Quakerism*, we must add the following Tenets, which we shall recite after *Wyeth* and other Authors, not much known except amongst the *Quakers*.

WE must have new Revelations to justify our being governed by old ones.

THE Soul is a Portion of the Godhead; so says *Fox* the *Quakers* Patriarch. The Authors who wrote after him have endeavoured to defend that Expression, by explaining it ¹ of the close and intimate Union of the Soul with God, by which it becomes in some measure a Part of his divine Essence.

'TIS an absurd Notion to think, that the Happiness of the Saints is imperfect in the State of Separation of the Body from the Soul, and that the Felicity of the Soul depends on that of the Body.

CHRIST^m, that is the *Heavenly Body*, or the ⁿ *Spiritual Body of Christ*, different from that with which he was manifested to the World, rises again in Men by the Means of their Conversion: Their Sins on the contrary run it through, tear it, and crucify it; their Crimes and Rebellion against God kill it, or rather this Death is only a profound Lethargy, for the *Light within* is never quite extinguished.

¹ Some *Quakers*, chiefly *Keith*, seem to confound the *Light within*, or *Christ within*, with the Soul. But the most moderate pretend, this has been laid to the Charge of their Brethren, for want of understanding their mystical and hyperbolical Expressions. *Andr. Aspalin*, a Philosopher of the 16th Age, has also believed, as some Ancients had done before him, that the Soul of Man is a Portion of the Godhead.

^m This and the following Article represent the Doctrine of *Keith* above-mentioned.

ⁿ The *Quakers* use both these Expressions.

THE ^a spiritual Body of Christ is at all times the Food of the Faithful, who never ceases to eat the Flesh of Christ, or to drink his Blood.

To these two Principles openly professed by *Keith*, we must join a third, *viz.* The Transmigration of Souls, which, tho' not publickly owned, yet seems to be a favourite Opinion of *Keith* and his Adherents. The Purport of it is as follows: All Souls are created, and dwell in another World before they are united to Bodies; after which Union four thousand Years are required for their Purification, which disposes and prepares them for eternal Happiness. On the contrary, their Abusing the divine Patience brings upon them long and grievous Punishments, which they are to suffer at the end of the World. The Soul is to undergo twelve Revolutions in the Space of these four thousand Years; that is, must return twelve times into the same Body: Each Revolution happens at the end of three hundred and thirty three Years and four Months. Some extraordinary Souls are purified in the first Revolution, or in the second: The Souls remain in the same State, and are no ways improved whilst they are separated from their Bodies. Those who have undergone some such Revolutions before the Death of Christ, born of the *Virgin Mary*, and were not then saved, may obtain that Happiness under the Gospel Dispensation, when they come again into a Body. But the Souls which have been united to Bodies since the Death of Christ, or shall be so united till the end of the World, without knowing any thing of the Gospel, in their several Revolutions, shall all together and in the same Place undergo a *final* Revolution, and then they shall hear the Voice of the Gospel, and be saved if they believe.

THE Saints coming again to dwell upon Earth, is the *first Resurrection*, or the Reign of a thousand Years, during which they shall live together without Sin, as *Adam* in the State of Innocence. At the second Resurrection the Saints will be made like unto the second *Adam*; and what may remain in them belonging to Earth shall be consumed or swallowed up by the Heavenly Bodies which they shall then put on. The Happiness of the Just shall be everlasting; but the Punishment of the Wicked is to be limited.

HERE it must be observed, that some *Quakers*, and even some Divines of the Church of *England*, have brought again upon the Stage the Opinion of *Plato's* Disciples, concerning the perpetual Duration of the Passions, and unlawful Desires of the Wicked after this Life. Their Souls, say they, will preserve and keep in the next World the ill Habits contracted in this, and remain guilty of the Corruption by which it has defaced in itself the Image and Resemblance of God. This perpetual Duration of Passions and Desires which it will not be possible to satisfy, will be to such a Soul, *the Worm which dies not*, and the Hell Fire which is never extinguished. Like *Tantalus*, it will always have the Object of its Desires in Sight, and within Reach, and yet never be able to attain it. One of the Furies, or rather that Soul's Despair, when in that State, shall always increase this Fire of Concupiscence, which will burn it without ever consuming it, that is without ever satisfying it. *Virgil* has finely described the Punishment of the Wicked by these everlasting Desires in the following Verses.

—— *Furiarum maxima juxta*
Accubat, & manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
Exsurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore. *Æneid.* l. vi.

^a See above the *Quakers* Opinion about the Eucharist.

GOOD Men partake even in this World of the Privileges annexed to the divine Nature; one of which is, that Joy and Peace of Mind which proceed from a lively and strong Impression of the *Life within*, and in this mortal Life *infallibly produces a Heaven upon Earth*. This Joy and Satisfaction makes us in this State sensible of the Happiness of Heaven; and we are susceptible of it at all times, and in all Circumstances of Age, Condition, Society, Country, &c.

THE inward Peace of Mind so essential to true Joy, is the only Aim which the Faithful ought to propose to themselves. 'Tis a State of Perfection, the Beginning of eternal Happiness in this World, and of the same Nature as in Heaven. There is one only God, there is likewise but one only Way of rendering his Image perfect, one Love of God, one true Joy, one Tranquillity, &c. The greatest Proof of our Love of God, and of our Submission to his Will, is not to be afflicted at whatever may happen in this World.

SUCH is the Doctrine of the *Quakers*, and of their Teachers; some of which however have been disowned by that Sect. Some of these dogmatical Points may possibly have been ill represented or misunderstood. Be that as it will, no one can deny but the *Quakers* destroy Christianity, and by endeavouring at an overstrained Spirituality, render it chimerical, and the Practice of it impossible. The Equality which they have introduced into civil Society, the ruin of all Subordination, the forbidding all Oaths, War, and Self-defence, cannot subsist with the Quiet and Happiness of Mankind. They themselves have been forced to own, that the Laws established in other Civil Societies are necessary for Self-Preservation; insisting only, that they are not convenient for those of their ^p Sect. Their immediate Inspirations, and inward Impulses, are also justly censured as fanatical; but their pretended Enjoyment of Heavenly Happiness ^q in this World, is still worse represented.

A

^p "Civil Magistracy, says *Wyeth*, is ordained by God to punish with the Sword, but it is unlawful for any..... to make use of it. The carnal Weapons are only allowed to such as are not under the Gospel Ministry, &c."

^q One *Leenhoff* a Minister published in the Year 1703, at *Zwul*, a small Dutch Book, to which he gave the Title of *Heaven upon Earth*, in which he pretended to prove this *Fore-taste of Happiness*, and gave an ample and exaggerated Description of this temporal Joy: He was soon called to an Account by the Consistories and Synods of his Country. His Brother Ministers pelted him with repeated Refutations, in which they represented him as a Libertine, an Epicurean, a Spinosit, and an Atheist, thinking it too slight a Censure to tax him only with being a *Quaker* or Fanatick. These fiery Zealots, after a strict Examination of *Leenhoff's* Doctrine, inquired into his domestick Life, and private Conversation, with the utmost Rigour, and with that *fullen Sorrow* which *Leenhoff* had painted to the Life, Page 31 of his Book, as infinitely opposite to the Joy by him recommended, and as being an everflowing Source of all Disorders, of Ignorance, Hypocrisy and Tyranny. It was also suspected, that after all, the most capital Heresy of which this *Flemish* Divine was guilty, consisted in his Drawing to the Life, Page 52 and 53 of his Book, the bad Character of his Brother Ministers. Now in every Sect throughout the World, and as *Boileau* says,

De Paris au Japon, du Japon jusqu' a Rome:

That is,

From Paris to Japan, from Japan back to Rome,

Heretics of that kind are unpardonable, and partake of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, which is not to be forgiven either in this World or in the next. But to return to *Leenhoff*: What was mostly censured in his Book, is the Answer which he gives Page 83 and 84, to the Objection drawn from the *Sadness* of Christ. He says first, that it was a necessary Consequence of his Sufferings for the Sins of Mankind; and concludes, even from that Objection, that since Christ, by his *Sadness*, had atoned for the Sins which required such Sorrow, the Faithful were dispensed from it, and ought to endeavour to be always glad, and to *Rejoice in the Lord*. "To be sorry for Sins after Christ's Passion, would be paying the same Debt twice, which the Justice of God cannot require; we ought therefore to serve God with Joy and Delight, as far as it is in our Power." This is the Purport of Page 84, which tho' it may be interpreted in a good Sense, yet it must be owned his Expressions are too harsh. In another Place, Page 106, &c. he wishes the Way so much used, of exciting Men to Devotion and Piety, by the Motive of Fear, and by threatening them with the Torments of Hell, might be quite laid aside. As this is directly opposite to *false Attrition*, it might easily be explained according to the strictest Rules of Orthodox Doctrine; yet it plainly appears, that his manner of proving his Assertion (in the above-cited Book, intitled, *Heaven upon Earth*, p. 106, and following) is not without some Blemish of *Sophistry*. Take his Argument as follows:

"All

“ All those upon whom the Fear of Torments may be supposed to prevail so far as to make them refrain from Sin, or embrace the Practice of Religion, must be divided into three Classes: one of the Wicked; a second of those who have Knowledge and Sense enough to be convinced of the Necessity of Complying with their Duty; a third of those who are weak and fearful, who rather stand in need of being comforted, than of being frightened. The Wicked are resolved to continue in that State, and are not to be reclaimed by either Religion, or the Fear of Hell-Fire. They have shaken off that Yoke, and laugh at it; even a sudden, unprepared, or shameful Death, after a disorderly Life, cannot frighten them into Duty. The Remorse of Conscience which is apt to trouble them in these last Moments, is rather the Effect of their want of Power to do Evil, than of a sincere Repentance. A civil Magistrate, says *Leenhoff*, with his temporal Punishments inflicted by the Laws, is more likely to hinder the Progress of Impiety, than all the Ministers together, with their frightful Exhortations.

“ As to those who have Knowledge and Sense enough to be convinced of the Necessity of Complying with Religious Duties, they want no such Incitements as Fears and Threats; they already enjoy Happiness, and that inward Peace of Mind and Satisfaction, which is infinitely more prevalent than all the *Sadness* inspired by the Fear of Punishment.

“ I say it again in few Words, the Weak and Fearful stand in need of Joy and Comfort. . . . No other Means can be so efficacious, in order to preserve them in a virtuous, religious, and truly purified State. . . . All the Ceremonies and outward Shew of Religion should tend to increase that Joy. . . . the Number of Days consecrated to *Sadness* and Affliction should be lessened.” (Probably the Author means the Fasting and Communion Days of the Protestants) yet a few Lines after he owns, “ that those Days are useful to the People. . . . and that some vicious Inclinations are not to be overcome but by Fasting and Prayers.” So true it is that all Systems which are inclining to Paradoxes, or dangerous for their Singularity, are likewise generally full of Contradiction! The same Writer, Page 110, following his usual Notions, that Religion ought to be gay, and that the Life of the Faithful should be spent in a continual Joy, made a Proposal to banish from all Protestant Churches the grave way of Singing (which in his opinion is too sorrowful) and to substitute in the Place of the low and sinking poetical Translation of the Psalms, a more lively and gay sort of Poetry. He desired likewise, that all Funeral Ceremonies should be left off, and whatever is apt to inspire the Mind with afflicting Thoughts, contrary to *Religious Joy*; that the Dead should not be buried in Churches, where the Faithful are to meet only to rejoice in the Lord. Such is the *Heaven* which *Leenhoff* proposes to be enjoyed *upon Earth*. He had some Followers, but never formed a Sect; and the Name of *Leenhovian* passed as quick as Lightning after the first Information against his Book. We have now and then paraphrased the Author's Words, to set his Meaning in a clearer Light. But *Rosi*, *Jovet*, and *Stouppe*, the abovementioned Authors of the *Dutch Religions*, would have gone much greater Lengths: They would have entertained us with the Rise and Progress of a Sect of *Leenhovians*, with a long Account of their Ministers, Discipline, Doctrine, &c.

DISSERTATION

Containing an Historical Description of several Sects and Fanatical Meetings, either not numerous, or not much known, or which are not now in Being.

WE shall first introduce the *Prophets of Dauphiné*. Their Fanaticism, which so strongly inspired them about 1688, had plainly shewed itself from the time of Recalling the Edict of *Nantes*. 'Till then the Reformed Religion never produced such a Number of miraculous and supernatural Wonders, as were supposed to be wrought one after another, without giving time to recover from the Surprise, in the three or four first Years after that Epocha: As early as 1686^a, *Voices were heard in the Air, and about the Places where Temples formerly stood so like the singing of Psalms (in the Tone used by Protestants) that they could not be mistaken for any other sort of Musick*. We are likewise told that this was a Heavenly and Angelical Choir, and that they sung the Psalms as translated by *Clement Marot* and *Theodore Beza*. This was according to Rule. *French Songs* should be sung to *Frenchmen*. The melodious Concert was heard in *Bearn*, in the *Cevennes*, at *Vassy*, &c. Mr. *Jurieu*, a Minister of great Repute amongst the Protestants, seemed predestinated to make a Collection of the wonderful Events of that time, in favour of those who are no less edified by Illusions than by Truth; and accordingly he has with great Care and Diligence drawn up and joined together all the Proofs of such Miracles: from which he concludes (as becomes so deep a Logician, such a sworn Controversist for the Protestant Party, and such a strenuous Champion of all new Revelations) that *God having made so many Tongues speak in the Air, indirectly condemns, by this Mark of his Providence, the French Protestants, for being so easily persuaded to remain in Silence, &c.* The Illusion or Deceit might probably have been soon found out, had the Minds of the People been at that time in a more calm and sedate Disposition; but it must be confessed, that the Acts of Violence, the Antichristian Cruelties exercised against the Protestants after the Revocation of that Edict, made them susceptible of the most absurd and chimerical Notions, which seemed favourable to their distressed Party. The Miracle of *Heavenly Voices singing Psalms*, according to the Version of *Marot* and *Beza*, soon went from one Place to another. In *Languedoc* the Sound of a Trumpet was added to the Musick^b, and some Ministers who were flying had this *Divine Musick* for an Escort, and the Trumpet sounded till they got out of the Kingdom, and were in a safe Retreat.

SUCH Wonders seldom come alone. The *Shepherdes of Crete* soon followed. She was but fifteen or sixteen Years old, when she began to have Visions, and to be often in Extasy. Mr. *Jurieu*, who had already the Gift of Prophecy bestowed upon him^c, relates every particular Circumstance of the Manner in which

^a See the seventh Pastoral Letter of *Jurieu* in 1686.

^b See a Letter inserted in *Jurieu's* Pastoral Letters for the third Year.

^c See his *Accomp. of Prophecies*, printed in 1686.

this new Prophetess instructed and comforted those who heard her: He has likewise taken the Precaution to let us know^d that her Discourses *were without Order or Method, and against the common Rules..... which is still a further Proof of their coming from God; for it is well known, that inspired Authors in their Writings and Speeches seldom, if ever, conform to human Rules of Art.* How far the Spirit with which she was animated, proportioned itself to the low Condition of this Country Girl, and by Consequence what Difference there was betwixt the new prophetick Spirit and the ancient will sufficiently appear by this one Expression which she used: She gave the Name of *Merchants and Knitters of Souls* to those who in her Days employed themselves in converting the Protestants. Were such Speeches worthy to be compared to the sublime Style of the ancient Prophets? did not such Comparisons villify the Gift of Prophecy? Yet Mr. *Jurieu* unadvisedly did it, and his Example was followed by several other Ministers amongst the new *Refugees*. However the Prophecies of the young *Shepherdess* were honoured with the same characteristick Marks of Truth, which the *Prophecying* Minister, her Apologist, bestowed upon his own in his three Volumes of *Accompl. des Prophet.* none were fulfilled.

THIS Fanatical Contagion spread further in *Dauphiné*, and reached the *Vivarets*. Swarms of little Prophets came forth, most of them Children, ill bred and unpolished, and by consequence, as they would persuade us, not capable of having any Intention to deceive. This *Propagation* of Prophecy amongst these poor Country People, might probably be carried on much in the same manner as *Malebranche*^e ingeniously represents the Progress of magical Art and Witch-Craft. However that be, these new Prophets^f were very different from those of Antiquity. Their Spirits were not raised, animated, rendered more subtile, and by a divine Fire enabled to soar above all material Beings, and take their Flight towards Heaven: Their Elocution sunk below the Dignity of Inspiration, wanted those noble and wonderful Starts of Eloquence, which the Ancients called the *Language of the Gods*; for which some Poets have been ranked amongst the Prophets. All their Achievements consisted in a kind of Drowsiness, very like what we perceive before we fall asleep, or which follows some violent Exercise; by which the animal Spirits being very much exhausted, we scarce have any Power left us to think or speak, unless by half Words. Others have thought that the extatick State of our Prophets was a profound^g Lethargy, during which they repeated, without any Intermision, what they had heard or got by heart, without any other Order, but as it occurred to their Memory, of which they were not deprived in that State. Thus they prayed, sung Psalms, made great Promises to the Hearers, and sometimes threatened them; but the whole was in a Language which no body could understand except the Country-People of their Villages.

^d See *Reflections on the Miracle*, &c. in the third Year of his *Pastoral Letters*.

^e *Recherche de la verité*, by *Malebranche*, lib. 1. or *Le Clerc* in his *Pneumatology*, which is only a Copy of what had been said by *Malebranche*.

^f There was also some Cheating in the Case; they had Masters who taught them to mimic the Prophets: But *Jurieu* would not own this, and constantly maintained there was some divine Operation in that Event.

^g *Christina Poniatovia*, who prophesied in *Poland* about 1628, had a very different Success: She was the Daughter of a *Polander*, who by a then common Metamorphosis, from a Monk became a Protestant Minister. In 1629, she was seized with such a Lethargy, that she was thought to be dead. She came out of it at length, but was ever after deprived of the glorious Gift of Prophecy. Not long after she even lost her pretended Right to Visions, by taking a Husband: Now 'tis very well known, that Matrimony is an excellent Remedy to cure Women of the Vapours; whence it came to pass, that most of the said Prophetesses were Maidens or Widows. The Prophecies of *Christina*, as likewise those of *Kotter* a *Leatherdresser*, and of *Drabicius* a Minister, were published together by *Comenius*.

SUCH were the Prophets, of whom the Author of *Pastoral Letters* is pleased to say, that God had not wrought such Wonders from the first Establishment of Christianity^b. No Writer ever produced so many Reasons to prove a bad Cause; but it must be owned that he was endowed with a subtile Genius, and the happy Talent of never being put to a stand.

WHETHER the Ocaſion of theſe Prophecies was Sickneſs, or a diſturbed Imagination of Minicks, or an over fiery Zeal ſpreading like a Plague from one Neighbour or Family to another, or a Cheat of ſome ill-minded Perſons, or a Mixture of theſe four concurring Cauſes, is hard to determine: “ But it is very certain “ it was not always the Effect of Sleep or Drowſineſs; the pretended Spirit ſoon “ cauſed in ſeveral of theſe Prophets the Motions, Agitations, Convulſions, Shakings, “ ſtaring and wild Looks, half Words, &c. which uſually are the Marks and “ Appendixes of a ſettled Fanaticiſm. But a ſhort hiſtorical Account of the “ whole, from a Letterⁱ written at that time, will be more ſatisfactory.” The Author of it ſays, that the Inſpiration of the *little Prophets* began in October 1688. The *Shepherdſſes of Crete* had left off propheſying ſome time before, and probably ever ſince ſhe had been kept a cloſe Priſoner: Her laſt Prediction was, that the *little Prophets* would be ſent, and then the Spirit within her remained ſilent. At firſt there were but three or four Children favour'd with Inſpirations, then fifteen, and in a ſhort time its Influence ſpread ſo far, that their Number was increaſed to three or four hundred; and in March 1689 it was ſo great, that many little Towns of *Dauphiné* were wholly inhabited by Prophets: In a word, the Progreſs of Prophecy was ſo quick, that to uſe the Words of the Letter, “ Crouds of little Prophets “ ſprang up in a Night like ſo many Muſhrooms. . . . Men of good Senſe (a remarkable “ Expreſſion) no ways inclined to Prophecy, at a time when the Prophets were “ impriſoned, coming home with their Neighbours from the Meetings in the Night “ time, ſuddenly fell down in the Snow^k, as if they had been ſtruck with the “ Falling Sickneſs, tumbled about upon a Bed of Snow two Foot deep, till they “ were raiſed up ſo as to ſit in it: In this Poſture, with their Eyes ſhut, as if aſleep, “ they began to preach and to propheſy, without conſidering that the Pariſh Prieſt, “ who with his Soldiers had broke up their Aſſembly, would infallibly cauſe them “ to be taken up next Day.” This prophetick Spirit diffuſed itſelf in many Places, and reached to the *Upper Languedoc*. Some Writers of thoſe Days aſſure us, that a Sickneſs which laſted about a Fortnight was the uſual Forerunner of this miraculous Inſpiration. Several other Accidents were likewiſe ſure, tho' ſometimes diſtant Prognostiicks of it. We ſhall preſent our Readers^l with two or three of them, which the leaſt knowing Phyſicians may explain with Eaſe.

THE

^b See *Pastoral Letters* of *Jurieu* for the third Year.

ⁱ See a Letter written from *Geneva* the 13th of *Febr.* 1689.

^k This Sect of Prophets laſted only a ſhort Time, during which the Word *'to fall*, in French *Tomber*, ſignified the ſame as *to propheſy*, becauſe the firſt Symptom of the Inſpiration was a ſudden Lethargy, with which the Prophet being ſeized, often fell down; witneſs the Prophet mentioned in the Letter from *Geneva*; who being on a Journey, and ſuddenly ſeized by the Spirit, fell into a Slough and broke his Leg: tho' whiſt he remained under the Influence of the Spirit he either felt no Pain, or bore it with as much Patience, and went on with his Prophecy, as if he had not hurt himſelf. When the Prophet began to be more drowſy, than to ſleep and preach, they uſually put him to bed, and there he preached or propheſied three or four Hours together; ſee the ſaid Letter. But the Forerunners or Symptoms of ſuch Inſpirations often varied.

^l The Letter mentions firſt, the bleeding of a little Prophet, ſeven or eight Years old, upon account of an extraordinary Redneſs in his Eyes: The Parents told the Surgeon, “ that they thought this might “ be a Preparation to the other Sickneſs (of Inſpiration in Sleep) and ſo it happened: The Child three “ Days after fell into a prophetick Sleep; he preached and propheſied.” Secondly, a little Prophet, eleven

THE Prophetick Speeches of those *Predicants* of each Sex, and every Age, did at the first foretel a speedy Deliverance for the Church. The *Shepherds* of Crete has fixed it to the Month of *September* in 1688. But the *Prophets* of *Dauphiné* put it back to the end of the same Year, or to the Beginning of 1689. To save the Credit of the first Prophecy, they alledged it would have happened in *September*^m, if a true Repentance had followed the Prophecy; without which Condition, it would not come to pass neither at *Christmas* nor at the Beginning of 1689. Others were bent upon the fulfilling these Prophecies; in order to which, they endeavoured to apply them to the Revolution which was then brought about in *England*. But these Apologists were put to the stand, how to reconcile the seemingly contradictory Predictions. The *Predicants* did not agree; some foretold violent Persecutions; yet those who understood the Harmony of the "Prophecies of those Days might have easily got over that Difficulty. The Persecutions were for the *French* Protestants, the promised Deliverance was reserved for the Protestants of *England*.

THE Style in which these Prophecies were delivered, was obscure, in very bad *French*, such as is spoke by the lowest Class of that Nation, and not to be understood, except by such as were accustomed to the Gibberidge of *Vivarets* and *Dauphiné*. Had they been only without Order or Connection, this might have been overlooked in modern Prophets, as it ought to be in those which are owned to be authentick. We must go further and say, that want of Method has always met with a general Approbation in Prophecy and Poetry, and such Objections can never invalidate the Truth of those Prophecies, which for so many Ages have been acknowledged as divinely inspired. But our *Dauphiné* Prophets are of another Stamp, we have seen it above. Their Sermons were not unlike to their Prophecies; they jumbled together, right or wrong, all the Word and Texts of Scripture which occurred to their Memory: yet this Heap of Nonsense is by their equally Fanatical Hearers called a *Series of pathetick Exhortations* which drew Tears from them. This is not to be wondered at; their Wounds were still fresh and bleeding; a severe Persecution was carried against a Body of Men, whose whole Crime consisted in meeting together to serve God; either as they had been brought up, or as their Reason and Conscience led them: This was enough to raise in their Hearts Sentiments of Compunction, and to soften their Minds. Daily Experience teaches us, that such Discourses as agree with our Notions are always approved and liked, and often admired; when the Mind is in that Disposition, Fanaticism easily follows Admiration. We

or twelve Years old, said, that before the Lethargic Fit, "She felt something rising from her Feet to her Throat, (this was the Spirit of Prophecy) which when it came there, Sleep overcame her and she felt no more. Several Witnesses deposed, that during the Prophecy, which lasted as long as the Sleep, the Prophet could not be waked, either by running Pins into her Flesh, or by hard Pinching. "Thirdly, when they had a mind to hinder the Prophets from preaching or prophesying in their Sleep, chiefly the little ones who could not bear the strong Agitations of the Spirit, they endeavoured to hurt them and make them suffer. A Child of eight Years of Age seemed to be in violent Pain (because they would not let him preach) and cried out to his Mother, begging of her in God's Name to wake him, for he was not able to refrain from speaking."

^m St. Bernard, if we are to believe Bayle, in the Art. of St. Bernard, alledged the same Reason to justify himself: But every Impostor might screen himself under the same Pretence.

ⁿ History favoured the Prediction, it was easy to foretel what they were resolved to do; such as continuing their Assemblies, and raising the little Prophets. As to the Revolution of *England*, King William's Landing, King James the Second's Abdication, &c. they were then on the Anvil, and to be sure the *French* were punctually informed by their Friends the Refugees in *England* and *Holland*.

^o The said Letter-Writer owns, that the worst *French* was still above the Style of these Prophets, so poor, so miserable, so slovenly, says he, that nothing can come up to it. One of their Exhortations was as follows: "The Way to Heaven is narrow, 'tis not wider than a Hair, and as thin no one can walk in it, when loaded with Sins You who are present have not been at Mass this long time, but I much fear the first Persecution will drive you thither, do not go at all, rather be chopped in Pieces, rather suffer yourselves to be put on the Chopping-block than to go again, &c."

have

have likewise acquainted our Readers with the prodigious Increase of this prophetick Spirit. A Letter which was wrote ^p from the Country in which these *New Doctors preached their Gospel* (they are the very Words of the Letter) informs us, that there were sometimes fifteen hundred or two thousand of those Prophets at one Meeting; who tho' they did not all of them ^q *Fall* together, or speak at the same time, yet all had an equal Right to Inspiration: Whence we may conclude, that all the Members of such Assemblies were and might be called Prophets: Men, Women, Children even not above three Years old, preached and prophesied. Some Catholicks likewise were seized with the prophetick Plague, and received an inconceivable Aversion to Mass, by following such Examples. The Letter adds to this Account, that all of them were of the Dregs of the People, few could read, but their Lives were irreproachable; "For they all publickly declared, that they obtained Grace and those supernatural Gifts, only by their own and their Families sincere Repentance, and should be deprived of them, if one only remained in a State of Sin."

"THEY eat nothing three or four Days before they speak, and take very little Nourishment after it..... They preached..... Day and Night..... in publick in the middle of the Village..... The Hearers always knelt, and the Preachers could not bear too see them in any other Posture..... if any great Sinners happened to be present at the Meeting, the *Predicants* bad them come near, and felt inexpressible Torments (that is violent Convulsions) if they did not obey; When the said Sinners were come near, the Preacher laid his Hands upon them, and called out aloud for *Mercy and Grace*, exhorting them to repent, and bidding the Faithful present to beg of God Forgiveness: Psalms were sung (chiefly the fifty first) in their behalf, and Prayers said..... If the said Sinners truly repented they likewise *fell down* upon the Ground as if they had been dead..... and when come to themselves, felt an accountable Happiness and Satisfaction." The foregoing Acts of Inspiration were not done only by venerable old Men, or by such as were of a competent Age and ripe Years: Young Shepherds, fifteen or sixteen Years old, even some who were but in the eighth or ninth Year of their Age, used to meet and hold a Consistory, obliged fifty or sixty Penitents to make a publick Reparation for their Apostacy; that is, for their embracing the *Roman* Catholick Communion: they likewise required publick Satisfaction for Oaths, for Blasphemies, for being present at Mass, &c. Children exercised the Functions with a masterly Behaviour and Authority, examined Sinners with the utmost Severity, and even dictated to them the Form of Prayer by which they were to testify their sincere Sorrow and Detestation of their Sins: which Prayer generally ended with a kind of Absolution by these or such-like Words, *God grant you that Grace.*

THE Symptoms of Prophecy were not always the same: The most common was to *fall down* to sleep, or to be seized with a sudden Numbness in all their Members, with convulsive Motions. At other times this Rule suffered some Exceptions; they then prophesied when awake; their Body was in Motion; they were in an uniform Extasy, or in Convulsions. This Fanaticism ended at last by the Discovery of a Cheat: They had Masters and Prompters ^r to teach them how to behave and what to say.

^p Copy of a Letter inserted in the Letter above-cited.

^q Twenty or thirty *fell* all at once.

^r Letter from Geneva above-mentioned.

^s Two Prophets of *Piaverts* and *Dauphine* went to *Geneva* in 1689, and carried on their pretended Inspiration; upon a narrow and strict Examination, they were forced to own before the Council of *Geneva*, that they were Impostors, and had used that Deceit only to strengthen their Brethren. This Confession did not avail, they were banished from that Town.

The CAMISARS or FANATICKS of the CEVENNES.

SOME Years after the *Dauphinè* Prophets^a, those who were called *Camisars*^b made their Appearance in *Languedoc*, and in the Mountains of the *Cevennes*; about fourteen Years elapsed between the *little Prophets* and these *Camisars*^c. The *prophetick Fire* did not go out during that Interval, and the Interruption of Fanaticism was only as to outward Appearance. Most of the Inhabitants of those Countries were Protestants, who had little or no Breeding or Education; their Heads were still full of Ideas and Notions of Inspiration; these were increased and strengthened by their solitary and rough Way of living. At last Fanaticism broke out, and was followed by a general Rebellion, which was countenanced by some foreign Powers then at War with *France*. This is taken notice of in modern Histories; but that Circumstance is not to our present Purpose: What belongs to us, is to let our Readers know, in what the Fanaticism of those *Camisars* consisted. The first *Camisars* began the Rebellion under Pretence of Want of Power to pay the Capitation: But this was soon dropt; Rebellion and Fanaticism were openly displayed in their proper Colours, the Horror of which needs no further Description, and cannot be any ways excused, except upon Account of the Ignorance and Prejudices of these Fanaticks. But Ignorance, and Prejudice of Education, when carried so far as to disturb civil Society, become Crimes against the State; what Wonder then that they should be punished as such? The Destruction of Criminals is not a Persecution, but bare Justice. We must now give a more particular Account of their own and of their Ringleaders Character.

THE *Camisars* were declared open Enemies to whatever bore the Name of *Roman Catholick*: This was their fundamental Principle, the first Article of their Religion. Robbing and burning Churches, putting Priests to the most cruel Death, was, in their Opinion, a meritorious Action in the Sight of God; and in the midst of those sacrilegious Murders and Devastations, they read the Scripture, sung Psalms, and said Prayers. Who could have expected such violent Proceedings would have met with Approbation, and found Defenders? yet Apologies were wrote for them in foreign Countries: It was averred in them, "That the *Camisars* made War "with all the Moderation of which it is capable..... *that indeed they burnt and* "robbed Churches, and gave no quarter to Priests, but were not guilty of committing "any Disorder." *Manifestos* were published in their Favour, and the Wits amongst the *Refugees* in *England* and *Holland* openly espoused their Cause in Verse and Prose. Even Ministers preached Panegyricks upon them, and offered publick Prayers to God for their good Success.

THEIR Leaders were like them, of the meanest and basest Extraction: a mistaken Zeal and blind Credulity drew into that Party but a small number of People of any Distinction. They looked upon their Leaders as new *Moses's* or *Josbua's*, who were to destroy the *Canaanites*; and in order to render this more probable, *Cavalier*, *Roland*, *Catinat*, and *Ravanel*, who headed that Rabble, pretended to be inspired by Almighty God, performed all the Functions of the Mini-

^a In 1703.

^b They were so called, either from a white Shirt which they wore over their Clothes, (*Camise*, in the Dialect of *Languedoc*, signifies a Shirt) or from a Linnen Frock usually wore by the Country People.

sters of the Gospel; baptised, blessed Marriages, gave the Communion, made and preached Sermons, or rather tacked together unconnected Texts of Scripture, and Pieces of old Discourses, which they had heard before, either from run-away Ministers, who came back to them from foreign Countries, or from the Fanaticks of *Cevennes* and the *Vivarets*. Moreover, they received from *Geneva* ^a a Reinforcement of old Devotion from time to time, and in their Assemblies put off this supposed *Manna*, disguising it with their Fanatical Ignorance.

CAVALIER, by Birth a Mule-Driver, or of some such Profession, became in a short time the General, the Lawgiver and Prophet of the *Camisars*. Before he was raised to that high Station, he had borne several Offices, not worth mentioning, since the most remarkable was the Trade of a Baker^c. Being forced to take up some way of Business to get his Bread, he chose to make it, says wittily *Madam Du Noyer* in her Letters. But as his Performances in that Trade were very indifferent, he became Prentice to Inspiration. He pretended that God^f had revealed his Will to him in a Dream, and had commanded him to help his Brethren; he obeyed the Call, came to them, and took upon him to be, as we said before, their Prophet, their Teacher, their General. "He was always accompanied, says *Madam Du Noyer*^g, with a little Prophetess, her Name was *Ijâbella*, and she never left him " by Day or by Night. She was young and pretty, walked by his Side, and was " very useful to the whole Party by her Enthusiasm..... This Prophetess, having " first suffered many..... violent Agitations, declared it was God's Will they should " obey their Leader, and pay him the same Regard as to *Moses*..... By Degrees he " re-united in his own Person the separate Offices of both *Moses* and *Aaron*. He " took upon him the Functions of Priesthood, settled a Church of his own amongst " the Inhabitants of the *Cevennes*, of which he made himself Pope and Patriarch." In that Quality he directed the penitential Exercises of his Adherents, and thundered out Excommunications; which, according to the above-cited Letters, was performed in the following manner: "*Cavalier* exhorted his People to Repentance; " before he administered the Communion to them, he admonished them not to " approach to the Table, unless they were duly prepared; telling them withal, that " God would reveal to him those who deserved to be admitted..... Whilst the " Ceremony lasted, his Arm would now and then grow stiff, and refuse its Ministry to give the Bread to some of those who presented themselves to receive it..... " Thus excluded they retired, and went back to continue their Prayers with Sorrow, " till further Orders..... He recalled them when he thought they were truly penitent and sufficiently mortified."

SUCH was this General^h of the Fanaticks: He had the Cunning and Authority to make them approve of the Articles agreed on betwixt him and the Marshal *de*

^a The Citizens of *Geneva* sent Books of Devotion into *Languedoc*; many of them treated of Controversy in the old way; that is, with bitter Invektives, and sophistical Arguments: But as most of those Writings were fallen into Contempt, the Bookfellers of *Geneva* sent them to the Protestants of *Languedoc*, who, for want of better, took this for the pure Word of God.

^c *Lettres Galantes & Historiques*, by *Madam Du Noyer*, tom. 3.

^f This he impudently bragged of at *Geneva*, even after he retired thither, and the whole Party was utterly defeated.

^g See the above-cited Letters.

^h We may justly compare *Cavalier* to that famous Hungarian *Jacob*, who having been, as is reported, a *Cistercian* Monk in his Youth, went over to the Mahometans, and came back afterwards into *Europe*, with the Dignity of a Prophet, and an Enlightned Person, and headed a Rabble of Country People called from thence *Pastoraux*. This Enthusiast pretended, that he conversed familiarly with the Blessed Virgin and the Angels. A Lamb holding a Crois was wrought upon his Colours. The *Pastoraux* committed great Disorders in *France*; yet some Fanaticks looked upon them as Prophets: *Jacob* himself had the Impudence to preach publicly in pontifical Robes, to bless Holy Water, &c.

Villars ; assuring them that he did it by ¹ the Order of God, and for the Welfare of the Flock. " Before he went to meet the Marshal, he was for some time in " an Extacy, in the Presence of some of his Friends ; the Bed on which he lay " shook by his violent Agitations, and God ordered him by a Voice, which came " out of *Cavalier's* own Mouth, &c. . . . to comply with what was desired of him " But this Revelation did not persuade or impose upon the more sensible Part of his " Followers." This Accommodation occasioned the total Ruin of the Party. These Fanaticks had received amongst them the broken Remnants of the *Prophets of Dauphiné*, and with them formed this new Flock in the *Cevennes*. This being likewise dispersed, they met again together in *England*, and established a new Society of Prophets composed of all these Party-Remnants. *Cavalier* not trusting to the Conditions stipulated in the Agreement, or to *French* Promises, came over with his Brethren, and was at first received as the *Guardian Angel* of the Protestant Religion. All the Refugees in *England* and *Holland* paid him Homage, he met every where with Friends and Relations, and all were proud ^k of having some Interest in him. He received such Marks of Respect and Veneration as were little inferior to the subordinate Worship which the *Romish* Church pays to Saints. A truly zealous Refugee would at that time have found it difficult to determine which was most pleasing to God, either this *Baker* turned Prophet, Ringleader of *Enthusiasts*, and Scourge of Papists ; or *Marlborough*, who had then lately delivered *Germany* from the *French* Yoke.

THE first Years of this Age were remarkable for numberless Fanatical Enthusiasts. *Germany* brought forth then one *Tenbard*, whose visionary Discourses were translated into *French*, tho' they ought to have been buried in Oblivion. This Madman (and what Fanatick is not so ?) had some Disciples and Followers, whose greatest Folly was their minding *Tenbard's* Visions : But it will always be true, that Folly is of a more spreading and contagious Quality than Wisdom. However, this Man seemed to be of Opinion, that all Thoughts, even the most ridiculous and profane, were inspired : Yet afterwards he recalled this Saying, and thought that some of them ^l might and ought to be attributed to 'the Suggestions of Satan'. He moreover condemned ^m Swearing, in which he certainly imitated the Quakers ; but he added a Clause which drew after it most dismal Consequences, by pretending to excuse evil Actions, as being supposedly unavoidable. He taught that Work was useless ; yet he seems to put some Restriction ⁿ upon that Saying. He likewise seemed to follow the Quakers, as to Indifferency about Religion, setting but little Value upon the Authors ^o of the Reformation. He exclaimed loudly against Plea-

ⁱ See the *Theatre Sacré des Cévennes*. The Spirit told *Cavalier* at that time several things which proved false ; for example, that *Cavalier* should be admitted into the King's Favour, and converse familiarly with him. Much about the same time, a little Prophet among the *Camifars* foretold, that in 1706 several extraordinary Events should come to pass. " That the Brethren should sing God's Praises in the Streets, that " their Enemies should lie prostrate before them that the King of *France* should give them Liberty " to pray, &c."

^k At *A* . . . he was accompanied to Church by several who were born in *Languedoc*, and praised the Prophet, calling upon him with a loud Voice *Cousin, Cousin*, that the World might know their Merit in being related to him.

^l In his *Revelations*, p. 192. he says, " the Devil by his Suggestions endeavoured to raise Doubts to deprive me of the inward Word," by which it appears, he made a Distinction betwixt Doubts and the inward Word, which is Inspiration.

^m P. 268. he asks of God leave to swear, and is answered, " I give you leave, tho' it is not well, because Necessity has no Law the Law is not for the Juit.

ⁿ God told him, " What occasion have you to work since you have an Income ? I do not love great Labours, but a holy Life.

^o God, says he, revealed to me, that *Luther* would have done better to have kept for himself the Knowledge he had received than in making a new Sect Fewer have been saved than if we had persevered in Popery, and led truly Christian Lives there is not a Hair's Breadth Difference between one Religion and another.

fures, chiefly against Intemperance in Eating or Drinking^p. Lastly, according to the Taste of his Country, he gave easy Credit to Apparitions of the Devil^q. Another *German* Prophet lived about the same time, his Name was *Godfrid*, or *Godfrey Winckler*. He had the Gift of Prophecy bestowed upon him in the Year 1707, at fourteen Years of Age; a Season of Life fixed by Nature as the beginning of the Increase of human Society by Propagation; and which, as it occasions one of the greatest Revolutions in human Bodies, it likewise determines the Maturity of Judgment, and settles the Dispositions of the Mind. This young Man's Predictions were soon discovered to be no more than the Effect of a distempered Brain, and the Publick was easily disabused by their proving false.

WE might entertain our Readers with an Account of several such Fanaticks, but to what Purpose? Every one is fully convinced that a Man may become a Visionary by Chance, follow Enthusiasm because he finds it profitable and successful, and at last deceive himself, after having often deceived others^r. True it is, there are some Fanaticks who are by themselves, as the two forementioned *Germans*^t, and many others who had no Followers; by which it appears, that Fools do not always herd together, and that the Circumstances of Time, Place and Dispositions must concur with a certain Turn of the Mind to gain Profelytes; otherwise Folly remains in its natural State of Obscurity.

ABOUT a Year after the Plague which raged in *Provence*, a new Sect, or Society, or Confraternity, made its Appearance in *Languedoc*. The number of these Sectaries was not very great, but the Discourses about them were of different sorts. Some said they called themselves *Enlightened*, and that they had some Affinity with the *Sect* or *Confraternity* of the *Rosicrucians*: Others thought them to be Fanaticks by Principle of Conscience, and that they were some Remains from the *Cevennes*, which we shall soon find retired into *England*. Others pretended they were professed Libertines, and abandoned Wretches, who concealed their infamous Practices, under the Mask of the pretended Mysteries of their extravagant Religion. Be that as it will, those enlightned either believed or are said to have believed, "That the
" Father and the Son having reigned in their Turn, it is necessary the Holy Ghost
" should likewise govern, which Government they were to settle. In order to
" which, they used many childish Ceremonies opposite to the Gospel; some of them
" were Judaical Observances. They kept both the Saturday and the Sunday. They
" initiated their Profelytes to their Mysteries by a Baptism of Brandy. Besides
" which, 'tis also reported, that they practised Circumcision. The chief of that
" Sect, if it may be called so, were clad in White at their Meetings, and wore
" Crowns upon their Heads, or Caps topped with a kind of Crest. Their Crowns
" were made of twelve Feathers, to represent the twelve Apostles. The *transparent*
" *Glass* with which they were adorned was supposed to be an *Emblem* of the
" Purity and Innocency of their Lives. The waving Crest was a Figure of the
" Inconstancy of the World. They wore a Belt likewise, as a Token of their
" being Knights, which was embellished with Ribbons of various Colours, with
" Lilies, &c." Their Crowns or Caps were covered with white Taffety, as a sur-

^p Having eat a broiled Herring and Cabbage with a good Stomach and much Pleasure, God reprimanded him and said, *you would soon be like a Hog*. On another Occasion God told him, *Take the Bread as I give it you, and do not cut off what you dislike, for by so doing you receive the Bread from the Devil*.

^q He often mentions such Apparitions in his Visions. But the famous *Abadie* being at *Dublin*, took a Cow's Head for an Apparition.

^r As those who tell Lies so often, that at last they themselves mistake them for Truth.

^t *Tenhard* was not quite without Followers.

ther Mark of an unspotted Life. The Lace about this Taffety denoted, tho' but very obscurely, Salvation and the Love of God. Moreover the Ribbands about their Crown were tied together in the Form of a Crofs, to shew that Christ had covered our Sins as with a Hat. Is it possible any one should not be sensible of the Folly and Madnefs of such an Assembly?

BRETHREN of the ROSY-CROSS.

NAUDE^a has wrote a Dissertation on the Confraternity of the *Rosicrucians*, in which he gives us the following Account of them.

THIS Society took its Rise in *Germany*. About the Year 1394, a young Man, who from five Years old had been brought up in a Convent, became acquainted at the Age of sixteen with some Magicians, learned their Art, travelled into the *East* as far as *Arabia*, where the Doctors of that Country taught him wonderful Secrets, and foretold him he should be the Author of a general Reformation. From *Arabia* he went into *Barbary*, and from thence to *Spain*, where he frequented the *Moors* and *Jews* who were versed in the *Cabala*. He there pretended to begin his Reformation; but being banished from *Spain*, he came back into his native Country *Germany*, and died in the Year 1484, being one hundred and six Years old. His Body was not buried, but only deposited in a Grotto. Fate, or some Oracle, had ordered that the Corps should remain in that State one hundred and twenty Years; in consequence of which Decree, it was not found out^b till 1604. This Discovery occasioned the Establishment of the *Brethren of the Rosy Crofs*^c. And in 1615, a *German* printed and published their Apology and Profession of Faith.

At first the Number of the Brethren was four only, then eight; but it increased very much afterwards. They were to remain in a State of Virginity, and to make themselves known to the World by no other Name than the *Enlightened of the Rosy Crofs*. Their Laws and Rules forbad them to receive any Reward for practising Physick, and ordered them to do it out of Charity, to do good to all Mankind, to apply themselves to Wisdom and Piety, to reform the religious Worship, by retrenching all superfluous Ceremonies, to maintain steadily all the Principles of the Confraternity, which was to subsist to the End of the World. Naude relates that their chief Customs and Opinions were to dress according to the Fashion of the Country

^a *Instruccion*, &c. printed at *Paris* in 1623.

^b A *German* Chronicle of the *Rosicrucians* relates this Discovery as follows: A *Rosicrucian* being probably more cunning than his Brethren, took notice of a Stone with a Nail in it: He took out the Stone, and found the Grotto in which was deposited the Body of their Founder, with this Inscription, *At the end of one hundred and twenty Years I shall be manifested*. Over the Monument, after these four Letters *A.C.R.C.* these Words were written, *In my Life-time I have chosen this Compendium of the World for my Tomb*, and several hieroglyphick Figures about them. The Body held in his Hand a Book in Gold Letters, which contained the Praises of the Founder, and gave an Account of his Contempt of the vast Treasures he had found, and of his Dying without Sickness or Pain when aged above a hundred.

^c Another Dissertation concerning the *Rosicrucians* says, that "about three hundred Years before their Society began (or rather was renewed, as will appear by the Sequel) in *Germany*. The Articles of this Society were to swear Fidelity one to the other to take an Oath to keep its Laws, which consisted chiefly in Secrecy, in speaking and writing only by Enigma's and Allegories; their Aim was only to restore good Discipline and Sciences, especially Physick, of which they pretended to know the most hidden Secrets; as indeed they boasted of knowing all the Mysteries of Nature, even the *Philosophers Stone*. In a word, they were the Successors and Restorers of many ancient Societies and Confraternities, which sought after Truth, and endeavoured to bring Sciences to a State of Perfection: Such as the Priests and Philosophers of *Egypt*, the *Eumœpides*, who kept the Mysteries of *Ceres* and *Isis*, the *Samothracians*, who knew how to be healthy and rich, since they could perform the *Grand-Operation*. The *Magi*, *Chaldeans* and *Brachmans*, such were the ancient *Rosicrucians*."

in which they lived, to be present at least once a Year at their Meetings, or to give a good Reason for Absenting; to wear constantly the Character or Impression of the *Rosy-Cross*, as the Token of the *Brotherhood*, to look upon themselves as appointed to reform all things, and as having the whole and sole Right to all the Gifts of Nature, upon that Account. They were to declare openly, that the Pope was Antichrist, and that a Time would come when they should pull down his Triple-Crown. They rejected and condemned the Doctrine of the Pope and of *Mahomet*, calling the one and the other *Blasphemies of the East and West*; they owned but two Sacraments, and admitted only the Ceremonies of the Primitive Church. They called their Society *the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost*. They pretended to a Right of naming their Successors, and of bequeathing to them all their Privileges and Virtues, as being their *Representatives*; to know by Revelation those who were worthy to be admitted as Members of their Society; to keep the Devil in a State of Subjection, and to discover hidden Treasures. They moreover said, that their Confraternity could not be destroyed, because God always opposed an impenetrable Cloud to screen them from their Enemies. Neither Hunger, Thirst, Sickness, or any other Infirmary, could hurt them; if any Brother died, his Burying-Place and their Assemblies were to be kept secret one hundred and twenty Years. They believed as a fundamental Article of their Faith, *that if the Sect failed, it might be renewed at the Founder's Monument or Tomb*. They bragged of having invented a new Language, by which they could describe the Nature of every Being; yet, as the same *Naudé* observes, they did not make use of enigmatical Speeches or Parables, they avoided being thought the Inventors of Novelties, and the Account they gave of their wonderful Performances, was not to be deemed either imprudent, foolish, malicious, or deceitful. But their bare Word must be taken, and these *enlightened Brethren* very much resembled Quacks and Alchymists in this Point, as they did in their *Jargon* and their boasted mysterious Sciences: Accordingly they were all instructed, and had their Education in *Arabian* or *German* Schools.

MOREOVER, the *Rosicrucians* said, that another Sun, which borrowed its Light from the Sun of this World, enlightened the Grotto in which their Founder was deposited, and served to discover all the Wonders of the said Grotto, some of which were engraved on a Copper-Plate placed upon an Altar: where, for Instance, four Figures are to be seen, with these four Inscriptions, *Never empty, The Yolk of the Law, The Liberty of the Gospel, The Glory of God*. We shall omit other strange things, which deserve and require the learned Comments of some Alchymists or visionary Cabalists; several of which have promised ^d *as the Brethren of the Rosy Cross*, to repair the Breaches and Defects of the World; as if Nature was subject to decay, or the divine Providence, by which it is governed, could possibly be so far weakened as to suffer ^e its own Work to be destroyed. They likewise flatter themselves that they

^d *Naudé*, above-cited, mentions one *Postel*, who has wrote a Book *de Instauratione rerum omnium*, and *Paracelsus*, who has foretold the Coming of an *Elias* who should teach all Arts, reveal the Philosophers Stone, and the grand Operation. and so procure Plenty, Wisdom, &c.

^e 'Tis a vulgar Error that Nature decays, and as ill-grounded as the Opinion of those who fancy that the Morals and Vices of Men grow worse and worse. See what has been said on that Subject in the first Part of the second Volume, concerning the *Ceremonies of Idolaters*. A learned Man of the last Age, has proved, by a strict Examination of every Part of Nature, the Steadiness of the Laws by which it is governed, and that by Consequence it is not subject to grow old and decay, as the Works of Men. Matter indeed is liable to an infinite Variety of Changes, even our Souls and our Morals are affected by those Revolutions; but still Nature is the same, ever steady and constant in itself, tho' it admits of such Alterations in its Parts, as *Manilius Astron.* lib. 1. finely expresses it in these Verses:

*Exutæ variant faciem per secula gentes,
At manet incolumis mundus, suaque omnia servat.*

they shall be able to restore the primitive Strength of Constitution, and Innocency of Life in Mankind: Plenty and Community of Goods¹, The universal Knowledge of Sciences, and the general Agreement of all Nations, in a Unity of the Gospel, in a Unity of Religion, and Holiness of Life.

MORHOF mentions a diminutive Sect, or rather a small Swarm of the *Rosicrucians*, to which he gives the Name of *Collegium Rosianum*, or Society of *Rosay*, who was a visionary Fanatick, and endeavoured to settle that Confraternity in *Savoy* near *Dauphiné* about the Year 1630: Their Number was not to exceed three; one *Mornius* tried all possible Ways to be admitted for a fourth, but was rejected, and could only obtain the Favour of being reckoned as a Servant. This small Society

*Quæ nec longa dies auget, minuitque senectus,
Nec motus puncto currit, cursusque fatigat.
Idem semper erit, quoniam semper fuit idem,
Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes
Aspiciunt. &c.*

But to return to *Jonston*, who is the Author mentioned at the Beginning of this Note: In the Year 1634, he published a small Treatise *De Naturæ Constantiâ*, which is divided into five Propositions, 1. *Nature is constant in its whole Frame.* 2. *In what concerns the Heavens and Celestial Bodies.* 3. *In the Elements.* 4. *In mixed Bodies, and animate or inanimate Creatures.* 5. *In regard to Man.*

He proves the first by the circular Motion of Nature, which causes all those infinite subordinate, yet fixed and periodical Movements, most of them unknown to us, by which all material Beings appear or vanish according to the various Dispositions of their Parts.

The second is demonstrated by Astronomy. The Nature of those Bodies is the same as it was from the Beginning, and their Actions the same, being constant even in their seeming Inconstancy. See pag. 17, 18, 19, and 20, of this short Work.

The Elements come next under his Consideration: He reckons only three, both in Honour of that Number, and because he takes Fire only to be the most subtle Part of the Air. It would exceed the Bounds of a Note, if we should follow him in all the Particulars of which he gives an Account, in order to convince his Readers that all the Alterations of Air, Water and Earth, are not capable of shewing any real Inconstancy in their own Nature.

The same must be said of mixed animate or inanimate Bodies, which are still the same as to their Substance. If we except some particular Occasions, in which God has been pleased to work some Prodiges, still letting Nature return to its antient Course, we shall find them all produced, increase, diminish, and vanish in our Days, as they did in former Times; so that in all Particulars, Experience daily convinces us of Nature's Constancy.

The fifth and last Proposition is about Man. Here it must be owned, that his Life is very much shortened since the Deluge. But not to enter upon the Order appointed by God's Will, or upon the Alterations which may have been occasioned by the Deluge, is it not highly probable that this may be owing to the luxurious debauched Lives of Men, in which Case Nature is not in the Fault; and there are still Examples of as long-lived, strong, and large sized Men, as there were in former Ages, at least since the Deluge. As to what concerns the Soul of Man, we find the same Will, Memory and Understanding: Arts and Sciences have been improved, and though it should be alledged, that we have only revived ancient Systems, and found again some Contrivances which had been lost or forgot, that Objection itself proves, that we are still capable of new Inventions. The Virtues and Vices even are the same as in Antiquity; Superstition still has its Votaries, so has Religion; in Politicks we find the same Frauds and Lies; Cruelty, Avarice, defiling the conjugal Bed, Intemperance, all other inordinate Passions are as much in vogue as ever. Riches, Honour, Merit, even Virtue, as far as it is barely natural, are not more or less settled than they were in Antiquity. Then, by unknown and strange Revolutions, Worth and Fortune seldom met; the same happens now. And these Verses of *Manilius* are adapted to what we now experience, as to the Age he lived in, *Astron.* lib. iv.

*Quin etiam infelix virtus & noxia felix,
Et malè consultis pretium est, prudentia fallit,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes:
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur.*

So far the Poet seems to repine at Providence, but at last submits to the supreme Being, who sweetly, yet with Force governs us, whom we must serve to the best of our Power, even with the Loss of our own Lives, and cheerfully lay them down, if necessary to obtain the Possession of him.

*Scilicet est aliquid quod nos cogatque regatque
Majus, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.
Quid cælo dabimus, quantum est quo veniat omne?
Impendendus homo est, Deus esse ut possit in ipso.*

¹ Several famous Chymists have upon this Account been looked upon by some, as if they had been Brethren of the *Rosy-Cross*; such as *Hermes* or *Mercurius Trismegistus*, *Raymond Lully*, *Arnoldus de Villanova*, *Flamel*, *Paracelsus*, *Glauber*, &c.

was entrusted with three important Secrets, perpetual Motion^a, the Art of changing Metals, and an universal Physick.

WHAT can be thought of such a Society, which is supposed perfect in itself^b, adorned with universal Knowledge, possessed of all worldly Treasures, exempt from all human Infirmities; yet no more known or seen than if it had been composed of pure Spirits: All we can say is, that it bears a great Resemblance to, and deserves to be ranked amongst Fairy-Tales. We must own nevertheless that the common People are delighted, and love to entertain themselves with such Fooleries^c. So the World is like to be for ever pestered with Quacks and Fools.

MUCH about that Time, the pretended *Enlightned Brethren*, mentioned in the last Note, occasioned some Rumour in *Spain*, as the *Rosierucians* had done; and we must not omit giving our Readers some Account of them. The Singularity of their Notions, some Points in which they either did, or other People were resolved to believe they did agree with the *Rosierucians*, made them be esteemed one and the same Sect. Neither shall we pretend to multiply Parties and Divisions, but rank these *Enlightned Brethren* amongst the most dangerous kind of contemplative Men, and the most wicked Quietists; if what is reported of them be true, that they believed that when the Mind is wholly absorbed in mental Prayer, and intimately united to God, it does not become guilty of any of the Crimes committed in that State by the Body. They moreover held, that the Sacraments were useless, &c. that all good Works were supplied by Raising the Heart to God. The Inquisition taxed them with maintaining seventy-six erroneous Opinions; and this is not to be wondered at, since that Tribunal is known to be very nice, and to require an extraordinary Exactness in religious Matters. These *enlightned Brethren* made their Appearance about the end of the sixteenth Age: But the Inquisition put an early Stop to the Progress of their Fanaticism. They shewed themselves again in the Neighbourhood of *Seville*, in the beginning of the seventeenth Age, at which Period of Time they were esteemed to be *Rosierucians*.

THE Low Countries, and *Picardy*, produced likewise, about 1525, some such *Enlightned Brethren* as those of *Spain*. A Taylor named *Quintin*, and one *Copin* of much the same Trade, were the Ringleaders of the *Enlightned Flemish Men*; for in those Days, every Man was thought qualified to preach. They are accused of holding, that *Intention* alone makes the Sin, that the Spirit of God partakes of all the Actions of Men, and that Innocency of Life consists only in being calm and easy, without giving way to any Doubts or Scruples. This *Intention, which alone makes the Sin*, does not differ very widely from the *Mind intimately united to God, whilst the Body wallows in Crimes*. What dreadful Consequences might not follow from

^a *Marhof*, lib. 1. chap. 13. gives the Particulars, and explains these three Secrets.

^b See *Libavius*, in his *Philosophia Harmonico-Magica, Fratrum de Rosea Cruz.* *Meyer*, a German, has published an Apology for them, under the Title of *Silentium post Clamores*, &c. Two Englishmen, *Robert Fludd* and *John Heiden*, wrote likewise in their Favour. The last mentioned, according to *Marhof*, tom. 1. lib. 1. ch. 13. of his *Polyhistor*, pretends there is a great Power in Numbers to raise Spirits, and work strange Miracles in Nature. But *Marhof* does not say that the *Rosierucians* were Adepts in that Art.

^c The *Rosierucians* were much talked of in *France* in the first 15 or 20 Years of the last Age, and several, who pretended to be of that Society, were cast into Prison. The foolish Credulity of the People was raised by the following Bill posted up in all publick Places: "We who are Deputies from the *Rosierucians*, and dwell visibly or invisibly in this Town, by the Grace of the most High shew and teach, without Books or Notes, to speak all the Languages of the Countries where we please to live, to deliver our Fellow-Creatures from deadly Error." In 1613, a *Rosierucian* of *Barbary*, named *Muley-Ibn-Hamet*, with a handful of Men, having overcome the King of *Fez* and *Maroc*, was, they said, to conquer *Spain*. Some pretended *Enlightned Brethren* appeared then in *Spain*, but were soon quelled by the Inquisition.

such Doctrine, in a State governed by Fanaticks so united to God, and so perfectly weaned from Matter?

BOHEMIANS.

THIS Sort of People being the Dregs and Sink of all Nations, our Readers may wonder to see them placed amongst Fanaticks and Enthusiasts: yet we are obliged to give an Account of them, by reason of their Origin, which has some remarkable Particulars in it. We give them the Appellation of *Bohemians*, the *Germans* call them *Zigenners*, from which the *Italians* name them *Cingares*. *Borel*^k informs us, that *Boem*, in the old Language of the *Gauls*, signifies *bewitched*, which seems to agree with the Notion of common People, that they can foretell what is to happen, discover hidden things, and are well versed in Witchcraft. They go from Place to Place, having no fixed Abode, as the ancient *Germans* did; and in the North, the *Druidesses*^b, the *Sybits*, the *Voles* and *Fairies*, so often mentioned by the old *Gauls*. Their first Rise seems owing to the Remains of the *Druids*, who were brought into so much Contempt by Christianity, that having lost all Credit and Power in the Towns and Cities, they were obliged to dwell in Caves, and to wander about the Country. Beggars and Vagrants are apt to associate together, which renders it probable, that others from *Africa* and *Asia* may have joined themselves to those *Druids*; for instance, the *Kaulits* of *Persia*, who, like our *Bohemians*, run about the Country, live in solitary Places, and have no Religion or publick Worship, or Rules, or any Laws: They swarm all over *Persia*, and from thence spread Southward to *Arabia* and *Egypt*, Northward to *Tartary*, and more distant Places. Accordingly we call them *Gypsies*, upon the same Account for which the *Saxons* give them the Name of *Tartars*. Our over-credulous Ancestors vainly imagined, that those *Gypsies* or *Bohemians* were so many Spies for the *Turks*, and that in order to expiate for the Crimes which they had committed in their own Country, they were condemned to steal from and rob the Christians. A rare Penance! We have performed such another, tho' in a nobler and more heroical Manner, by taking the Cross, and making War against those Infidels. But our Opinion, that the *Bohemians* come from the Southern Parts of *Asia* and *Africa* (which our Forefathers did not distinguish from *Egypt*, before the Way of going to the *East-Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope* was found out) is grounded upon the Testimony of one of the most ancient Authors who wrote concerning them. He^c relates, "that in 1433, the *Ciganes*, "who pretended they were *Egyptians*, came to *Germany*;" and according to another old Writer cited by *Pasquier*^d, they likewise came to *France* much about the same time^e. The Story is somewhat curious: "They were, says that Author, by "Extraction of the *Lower Egypt*; and having abjured the Christian Faith, were

^a *Recherches & Antiquités Gauloises, &c.*

^b See *Keisleri Antiq. Sept. & Celt, &c.* 8. Hanov. 1720.

^c *Chardin*, tom. 8. of his *Travels*, in 12 edit. of 1711. p. 244 and following, says, the *Kaulites* are so called from one *Kau*, who cohabited with his own Sister, whose Name was *Ly*. They are also called *Korbetis* and *Kobaalis*, which Words signify the Crime against Nature. So they are looked upon as detestable People, guilty of all Crimes, Incest, &c. They may owe their Origin to the *Uxians*, who dwelt in the greater *Armenia* at the Source of the River *Tigris*, and went about the Country telling Fortunes, as the *Bohemians*.

^d *Tartars*, because the *Saxons* think they come from *Tartary*, through *Russia* and *Poland*.

^e See *Fromman de Fascinat.* p. 527. *Ciganes* & *Zigenners* may be derived from *Egypt*, *Gypsies*, and the *Spaniards* call them *Gitanos*.

^f *Recherches*, lib. 4. chap. 19.

^g In the Year 1427.

“drove from their native Country, became miserable, and in Abomination to all Mankind: the then Emperor rejected them also, as other Christian Powers had done, and told them they should go to the Holy Father at Rome They went, confessed their Sins . . . and he enjoined them to go and travel about the World, doing Penance, not lying in a Bed, &c. . . . This they performed for five Years before they came to Paris; the chief of them arrived there on the seventeenth of August 1427, the rest on the Day of the Decollation of St. John^h.” The same Writer says, that the Ears of all of them were bored through, and had a Ring, sometimes two, at each Ear; their Complexion was very black, and their Hair frizzled; the Women also very black and ugly, and their Hair like a Horse's Tailⁱ. The Habit of these Women was of old coarse Flax; some of them were Witches, and looked into Peoples Hands to tell them their Fortune. In a word, these Egyptians, banished Apostates, despised by all Mankind, and condemned by the Pope to a wandering Life^k, bear a vast Resemblance to our Bobemians. After all, the said Author cited by Pasquier says the Pope did excommunicate them, and all those who had their Fortune told to them, and that from Paris they went to Pontoise, on Lady-day in September.

We are inclined to trace the Origin of the Bobemians still higher than those Egyptians, the antient Druids, the Kaulies of Persia, or the Uxians of Armenia: Why may they not owe their Rise to the^l Messalians, wandering and dispersed in Thracia, Bulgaria, &c. who were mistaken for Sectaries and Hereticks of divers Kinds, under the Name of Manicheans, and upon whom the Compilers of Heretical Catalogues have liberally bestowed a great Number of^m odious Appellations; by which, in Process of time, they became more black and hateful to Orthodox Christians, than the very Devilsⁿ in Hell. The Messalians are supposed to have had their Beginning under the Reign of the Emperor Constantius: They were but few at first, their number increased gradually, and when they were taken notice of, as the Writers of the fourth Age charged them with most of the Manichean^o Principles, they were reckoned amongst those Hereticks. The first Penal Laws against Schismatics and Hereticks were enacted at that time, and put in Execution against the Messalians, who being prosecuted, from Pagans and Idolaters, as they were thought to be rather than Christians^p, became most orthodox^q Christians out of Fear or Policy or Self-Interest.

As the Messalians are mentioned here only as bearing some Resemblance with the Bobemians, we shall only relate what may evidence their Conformity of Sentiments and Practice. They did not work, and lived by the Alms which they received, to

^h August the 29th.

ⁱ The French Word *Flossée* comes from the German Language *Flax*, and still it is called *Flossée* in Languedoc.

^k This Penance is certainly fabulous, see Pasquier about it.

^l In Greek, *Euchites* Praying. The Word *Messalian* comes from the Hebrew or Chaldaick, *Tsala*, in the Participle Mood *Mesala*, one who prays; because those Sectaries pretended to long Prayers. Others derive their Name from the Arabian Word *Mosul*, which signifies *Affyrta*, because their Heresy began in that Country.

^m In a Book wrote against them by Euthimius Zigobenus, and printed in 1696 by Tollius, they are called Enthusiasts, Atheists, Blasphemers, and made up of divers Heresies.

ⁿ They were also charged with adoring the Devil, for fear he should hurt them, and upon that Account the Name of *Satanians* was given to them.

^o To the Manichean Heresy of two Principles they had joined others about the Sacraments, the Cross, the Blessed Virgin, the Saints, the Nature and Corruption, &c.

^p The Orthodox were then, and are still called *Christians*, without any Addition in Spain, Italy, and other Places.

^q The Ecclesiastical History says, that the *Manicheans* affected to appear very devout, and to use the same Expressions as the Orthodox, &c.

imitate the Apostles whom Christ had forbid having any Possession. This constant Idleness, their voluntary Poverty, their Contempt of all the Conveniences of Life, and of all Government, could not but lead them by Degrees into a total Neglect of Discipline, and of all Laws: This occasioned great Crimes and Disorders in their Society; and amongst the sincere *Messalians*, many others crept in who minded nothing less than their Prayers. They were therefore accused both of living together without observing any Order, any Rule, or even the most common Decency, and of being true *Cynicks*, who after wandering all Day in the Fields, met at Night, and lay * in the same Place, without any regard to Age, Sex, &c. The Orthodox moreover charged them with maintaining that we ought always to follow the Dictates of Nature, to eat, to drink, to *ease one's self* when it requires it, and that no Fast is to be observed but when necessary for the Preservation or Recovery of Health. Besides all this, the Orthodox of those Days reproached them with their Meetings and Nocturnal Feasts, in which they were guilty of all the Abominations with which the Pagans had heretofore taxed the Christians, and which have since been laid to the Charge of other modern Hereticks, to render them more odious to the *Roman* Catholics.

WE find in *Italy*, about the close of the thirteenth Century, some *Fratricelli*, who were also called *Bizocchi*, that is, Bigots or Clownish, upon account of their unpolished way of Life, or because they pretended to a greater and more refined Devotion. The other Name of *Fratricelli*, that is *little Brothers*, either was given them because the first of them were Monks, or rather it is the same as the Name of *Adelprians*, which was bestowed upon the *Messalians*: We shall soon see that there was some Conformity of Sentiments betwixt them: Their chief Doctors were *Pietro Maurato* and *Pietro di Fossombrone*; but an Apostate Monk from the Convent of *Pongilupi*, was their Ringleader; at least 'tis so reported. Be that as it will, these *Fratricelli* wandered about the Country like the *Messalians*, to avoid the Persecutions raised against them, upon account of their lewd Life, and of the Errors which they held, the necessary Consequence whereof was their said disorderly Behaviour. Both the *Fratricelli* and *Messalians* pretended that all Goods ought to be in common, and condemned living by the Work of one's Hands. They deny all Obedience to Magistrates, allowed a Plurality of Wives, and those to be in common; to which the *Grecian* and *Italian* Orthodox added the heinous Imputation of holding their Meetings in the Night, to be more at liberty to commit all sorts of Crimes. We shall inform our Readers in another Dissertation, that the Ringleaders of the fanatical Anabaptists, and several of their Followers, were guilty of those three Capital Errors: which may serve both as an indirect Proof that the *Fratricelli* and *Messalians* probably might not be accused without some Grounds; and, by consequence, as a Justification of the Severities used against them. But, after all, it must be owned, that some particular Persons might live and die in that Sect, without being acquainted with the bad Principles of their Teachers, or of their evil Tendency, as but too many do even amongst the Orthodox; and tho' Heresies ought to be detested, certainly the inveterate Hatred against the Persons is highly to be censured. *Dilige homines, interdice errores.*

BUT to return to our *Messalians* of *Greece* and of the East, and to our *Italian Fratricelli*: If there were amongst them so many professed Libertines, as the Histo-

* By these Particulars, the *Messalians* must likewise have been *Adamites*.

rians and Controvertists of those Times mention; Ignorance joined to the Persecutions raised against them, may have been the Occasion of their actually putting in Execution all the Enormities of their false Doctrine. A young Person, for instance, commits a Crime, and by that infamous Action loses his Reputation; he is despised, abandoned by every one; so out of Despair runs headlong into Ruin and Misery. This Example needs no further Comment.

WE must likewise take notice here, that both antient and modern Controvertists have often represented Sects and Heretical Systems as more dangerous than they appear to have really been. Some may pretend to excuse this Fault under Colour of an unbounded Zeal against Heresy; but Zeal ought not to be bitter, or to destroy Charity; and whilst a fiery and subtle Controvertist *inveighs too harshly against the Venom* of an erroneous Opinion, he often does more Mischief to publick Society, than the very Person who had taken it up without much Consideration, and probably might as easily have dropped it, if Pride and Shame had not (such is human Frailty!) prompted him to maintain it with Obstinacy. This same false Zeal has often made the said Writers tax one and the same Sect with maintaining inconsistent and evidently contradictory Opinions; it cannot be denied that *Iniquity belies itself*, Scripture says it, and we daily experience it. But that so many inconsistent Propositions should so often be justly charged upon one and the same Sect, is not very much to be credited. The Authors of those Imputations have been sensible of this Defect in the Accounts by them given; and instead of owning honestly their Mistake, have invented new Names of Derision and Contempt, to upbraid the Sects which they had accused wrongfully of such palpable Contradictions: Thus the *Manicheans*, the *Messalians*, &c. were called by a Name which in *Greek* signifies a Mixture of all sorts of Errors: Thus the *Albigenses*, the *Waldenses*, the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, have been nicknamed, the Sink and Dregs of all prior Hereticks^f.

THE Name of *Adelprians*, bestowed on the *Messalians*, was taken from *Adelprius*, one of their Teachers: *Flavian*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, having with great Art inveigled him to discover the most secret Articles of the Doctrine which he held and taught, obtained that he should be banished from *Syria*.

BUT to conclude our Account of those Sectaries; by wandering about, they in Process of Time went further and further from the Place of their Origin. The Persecutions they suffered, and ill Treatment they received from the Catholics, as we have said before, had as great a Share in banishing them from Cities and great Towns, and rendering them odious, as their erroneous Opinions and wicked Life. As they spread, so did their Doctrine, and it is highly probable, that in *Europe* as well as in *Asia*, they met many Libertines who gladly associated themselves with them, upon account of the idle and lazy Life so much recommended by that Sect. Tares soon grow amongst the good Corn^g, and the common People who are apt to form their Judgment from particular Instances to general Conclusions, easily mistook the good Corn for Tares. Thus they settled in *Greece*, in *Thracia*, *Bulgaria*, *Transylvania*, *Hungary*, and at last in *Bohemia*. In all the Countries where the *Sclavonian*

^f The Greek Word is *Pammigeis*, or *Polyonymoi*, which denote a Sect of several Names, and a Mixture of all. This was in order to palliate the above-mentioned Contradiction. The Latin Word *Celluvies* may likewise be interpreted a Rabble or Sink; and was given them with the same Intention.

^g Let no one mistake our Meaning, by good Corn we only understand some well-meaning People, some Truths which lie concealed under most Errors, and are only pressed too far, and by false Conclusions carried to Excess, which is the Fault of all Sects, because most Christians and others follow the outward Shew, and but few of them are capable, or will give themselves the trouble to think.

Language is understood, the *Messalians* themselves took, or their Enemies in Derision gave them, the Name of ^u *Bogomiles*.

THEIR Abode in *Bulgaria* and the neighbouring Countries, has rendered the Word ^a *Bulgare* odious throughout *Europe*, chiefly in *France* and *Italy*. It may likewise be presumed, that they went from *Bulgaria* and *Hungary* into *Bobemia*, at a time when the *Bobemians* began to rebel against the Church, and that upon that Account the Orthodox took the *Bobemians* to be the same as the *Bogomiles* or *Messalians*. This being also a critical Time for the Church of Christ, and many Beggars and miserable Wretches taking part in these Divisions, all were blended under the same Denomination. Thus at last the Name of *Bobemians* is universally given to Vagrants and Runaways, who have no settled Notions, Laws or Religion, who in well-governed Kingdoms ^y are banished from all Cities or Towns, and dwell in Caves and solitary Places, and live only by begging or stealing. If the Romantick Stories (mentioned in the publick *Gazettes* concerning some of those *Bobemians*, who within a few Years have made Inroads through *High* and *Low Germany*) were of any Authority or to be credited; the Proofs ^z of Courage which they are said to give, must appear very singular and strange.

The PROPHETS or CONVULSIONARIES of ENGLAND.

WE must now return to the *Prophets of the Cevennes*: They brought over into *England* their Fanatical Enthusiasms^a. There many through Weakness of Judgment, or out of Malice or Libertinism, were disposed to receive such Impressions of Folly, that even some Persons of note favoured the new Prophets, and made a strong Party in their favour; and for a considerable Time it had the desired Applause and Success. The Particulars of which we must now introduce.

IN the Year 1706, towards Winter, three Camisars, *Marion*, *Fage* and the above-mentioned *Cavalier*, thought fit to take up again (in *London*, and before the most considerable and clear-sighted Witnesses in the World) and counterfeit, as they had done in the *Cevennes*, prophetick Inspirations. The Reputation of the *Camisars*, the Circumstances of a bloody War with *France*, the inveterate Animosity of the *French* Refugees against their Country, which had treated them as a Stepmother about twenty Years before, some who were inclined to Libertinism, and hoped this would prove a favourable Opportunity of bringing the antient Scripture Prophecies into disgrace; all these concurring to the same end, made the new Prophecy believed by some, and protected by others. These various Motives inspired People with

^u In the *Sclavonian* Language, *Bog* they say signifies *God*, and *Myle* is the same as *Mercy*; a *Bogomile* therefore is one who implores God's Mercy.

^a From *Bulgare*, which Name the *Messalians* bore, comes another Word well known in *Italy*, *France* and *England*, not proper to be mentioned.

^y By the Statutes made under the Reign of *Henry VIII.* and his two Daughters. . . . *Bobemians* or *Gypsies*, tho' but fourteen Years old, are condemned to the Gallows, if they stay above a Month in *England*. . . . before the Month is expired, they only lose their Effects. . . . See *Memoires*, &c. p. 31. In *France* they are liable to be sent to the Gallies.

^z Some News Papers in 1731 inform us, that it was a Mark of Honour amongst those *German Bobemians* to have no Ears, that one was cut off at their being admitted into the Confraternity, and the other at the first heroical Action which they performed; but who can rely on such Reports, given out by Weekly Authors, to whom Truth and Falshood are equal, so their Paper is filled.

^z The *Camisars* came over to *England* to concert Measures, and find Means to return into their Country; and had the Siege of *Toulon* succeeded, the *English* and *Dutch* would probably have enabled them to do it.

divers Notions concerning this prophetical Mission. A cotemporary Author assures us^b, that some “believed they were sent to beat up for Soldiers to help their Countrymen and some might flatter themselves, that the pretended Voice of God “could not be withstood, when he gave absolute Orders for Raising an Army to “protect a Country in which he had wrought so many Wonders one of “their chief Agents could not help owning, that all their Aim in this whole Intrigue, was only to obtain some Succours to be sent to the *Cevennes* Others “were of opinion, that this Gift of Prophecy was an Effect of a disordered Imagination Most were fully persuaded, that the new Prophecy was an artful Trick, that the Prophets had been instructed to perform those extatick Motions, “as Tumblers learn to dance and cut Capers upon the Rope : to prove which, the “same Writer says, that the *Camisars* had trained up many Disciples in *London*, “who could imitate them so much to the Life, that if they thought fit they might “raise another Company of Prophets. And if so, if this Prophecy was purely an “Art only to be learnt, why might not the ancient Prophecies have the same “Original ? at least the Free-thinkers, who delight in reviling and boldly canvassing “the highest Mysteries of revealed Religion, often made that Objection the Subject “of their Mirth and profane Discourses.”

THE open and avowed Promoters and Abettors of the new *Prophetical School*, were Men of too much Sense and Understanding, to look upon those Men as well-meaning and true Fanaticks. The three most considerable of those Protectors of the Prophets, were of a Character very opposite to Fanaticism : Their Names are *Lacy* an *English* Gentleman, who became first one of their Disciples, then a Prophet of high Reputation in that Seminary of inspired Men, and at last wrote a large Book of Prophecies, *Sir Richard Bulkley*, a Knight : And *Fatio de Duillier* a *Zwitser*, or of *Geneva* by Birth ; he was a famous Mathematician, and taxed at the same time with want of Religion, and as liking none of those which were extant^d in the World : This last is said to have been both the Secretary^e and the Inspirer of the Prophets. There was a fourth called *Misson*^f, who published the Miracles of this Prophecy. The Prophets themselves were, as we said before, *Marion*^g who was under the immediate Care and Direction of *Fatio* : *Fage*, who is represented as *the poorest of all Mortals* : *Cavalier*, whose Character rendered him very fit for the *Prophetical Operation*, in what concerned the Bodily Motions, and exteriour Enthusiasm ; but his Behaviour was not serious enough for such a Part, and his Memory often failed him. *Flotar* a Prophet, an Agent and Treasurer for his Brethren in *London*, and in the *Cevennes* : He was more cunning and lucky than the rest, if what is reported of him be true, that the Spirit which moved him in the Disbursement of the Money allowed him to take for his own Use what he thought fit. *Allut* a Joiner, and his Wife *Henrietta* ; lastly, one *Betty* or *Elizabeth Gray*, who had been a Candle-Snuffer at the Playhouse. *Marion*'s Spirit made him print his Prophecies in 1707. Much about the same Time *Lacy* published two Collections of Prophecies, with this^h Approbation from the

^b *Clavis Prophetica*, or *A Key for the Prophecies*, printed at *London* in 1707. This Citation is conformable to the Meaning of the Book.

^c *The Eternal Spirit's Admonitions by his Servant John Lacy*. He often prophesied in *French*, tho' his Book is in *English*. He was either a Madman or a great Cheat.

^d See *Clavis Prophetica*. He is charged with saying, that Truth without any Mixture of Errors is not to be found in any Religion. If he meant only as to the practical Part, he was but too much in the Right.

^e See *Clavis Prophetica*, pag. 6 & 7.

^f Known by his *Voyage into Italy*, and his *Theatre des Cevennes*.

^g *Clavis*, &c. p. 7 and fol. *Fatio* published *Marion*'s Collection.

^h See *First Letter to Misson*, about *Comical Miracles*, *London* 1707.

Spirit, called, *The Eternal Spirit*, placed at the Beginning of the Work, *Let this be printed.*

THIS prophetic Play or Cheat, was at first performed with much Simplicity, the Convulsions and Declamations were not so violent as afterwards. The Invectives were only in general, and according to the antient Custom of the Sects opposite to the Papists; that is, the Prophecies were only levelled against *Babylon* and *Antichrist*, by which every Protestant knows that *Rome* and the Pope are meant. This was sufficient, says the Author of the *Key*, "to inflame the Zeal of the Reformed, few of themⁱ can be thoroughly angry with those who cunningly " handle that Subject, with the most bitter Imprecations." But the Generality was in an Error, a *Roman Antichrist*, a *Papish Babylon* were not attacked then; their Invectives were against a *Babylon* an Antichrist supposed to be in the Bosom of the Reformation. The Spirit moved them to say, that ^k *Babylon* and Antichrist are every where: "With these two Words, understood in a new Sense, they might " say what they pleased against the Reformed Churches, even against the purest " Part of the Reformation. . . . had any Complaints been made, any Clamours " raised, the Spirit would have inspired them to say, *We speak of Rome, we speak of " the Pope.* To this our new Prophets joined, the Conversion of the Jews, the approaching Reign of a thousand Years, and other Opinions which were not displeasing^l to all those who were inclined (in *England*, and elsewhere, there are many " such) to believe Chimera's and Visions." *Pharaoh and his Overthrow* were not forgot by our Prophets; their Aim was against *Lewis* the XIV. *England* was also the Object of their Threats, then *London* in particular: Lastly, a general Slaughter and Downfall both of Church and State were foretold: The above-cited *Key of Prophecies*^m contains several such prophetic Inspirations.

THE Publication of such Fooleries sunk the Credit of our prophetic Party, which obliged them to have Recourse to the Working of Miraclesⁿ. In order to this, the Spirit ordered *Lacy* and his Scholars to go out of *London*, and retire into the Country. They soon came back; for scarce were they out of that great City, but the Spirit seized *Lacy*, and declared that neither he nor any of his Adherents should be ashamed of being the Ministers of the Lord. "The Prophet overjoyed " at so glorious a Commission, rose from his Seat, went several times round the " Room, counterfeiting with his Voice the Beat of a Drum to enlist Soldiers. He " then sat down again, beat to the Right and to the Left with his Fists upon his " Chair, as if playing on a Kettle-Drum, not forgetting now and then the Exercise " of the Gun, of the Colours Waving, of drawing a Sword, or presenting the Pike. " These Motions being over, he got up a second time, and walked gravely four " or five times about the Room, imitating with his Voice, and by the Motion of " his Hand, the Marching of a Regiment. All this ended in a long Discourse. " The next Day the Prophet founded a Charge, and made some military Motions before he spoke or sung, in very bad *French*, these fine Words, *O God you will make us " dance; our Spirits shall put in Action all the Members which are able to serve you " for the Celebration of the approaching Solemnities.*" This said, our *English* Prophet went about a new kind of Sacrament, which he instituted for those who were to

ⁱ *Key*, p. 16. *Marion's Prophecies*, p. 96. The Spirit says, "Child, Antichrist is not in one Place only, there are more Antichrists than one upon Earth, do not deceive yourselves, Antichrist is in all Places, you have all had some Share in his erroneous Actions." This is conformable to the Opinion of *Fatib*.

^k *Key*, p. 18. *Fatib* had taken Pains to know the Bent of the People's Mind.

^l *Key*, p. 25, and following.

^m See the Letter to *Misson* as above.

ⁿ *Second Letter to Misson*, &c. p. 2.

be initiated to prophecy. But we must first relate^o the various Motions of these Prophets, their extravagant Postures, and their extatick Agitations taken by the Author from the marginal Notes of the *Prophetical Admonitions*, and which may justly be called the *Evolutions of the Exercise of Prophecy*. “ 1. Here the Prophet points (or “ seems so to do) a Dagger to his Heart. 2. He lifts up his Fist and shakes it, “ looking out of a Window to the North. 3. He goes from that Window to another, towards the East. 4. He sheds Tears, and turns his Arm in a piteous “ Manner. 5. He extends both his Hands open. 6. He goes to the North. 7. He “ runs to the East. 8. He stretches his Arms to the North and to the West. “ 9. He lifts up his Hand with a threatening Countenance, and moves his Hand, “ as if he was whipping somebody. 10. He sits down with a thoughtful Air, “ looks up, and looks down. 11. He falls on his Knees, prays with a fervent “ Devotion, goes upon his Knees from one end of the Room to the other, moves “ his Arms on each Side very quick, imitates the Movement of the *Pendulum* of a “ Clock, puts himself upon his Guard, as if he was fencing, he makes a Push, &c. “ 12. He whistles like a Blackbird.” This is not common; few People would have expected to see a Prophet whistle. The Miracles answered exactly the Prophet’s Agitations: *Bess Gray*, at the Age of fifteen or sixteen, from a *Candle-Snuffer* at the Playhouse, was raised to the Dignity of the *Woman-Sister* to our Prophet *Lacy*, and was likewise become a Prophetess, and as such was instrumental in several Miracles. One Day she was seized with a Palsy, and was so numbed, that she could not use her Limbs. *Lacy* having first laid his Hand upon her, was in great Agitations, and made wry Faces: Then, with a majestic Tone, becoming an inspired Person, he told her, *I reserve you for great things. . . . I shall put my Bracelet upon your Arm. . . .* He took the Girl’s Arms, placed them on his Bosom, devoutly lifted his left Arm, saying, *I shall put a Chain about your Neck*, and suddenly put his Arm about her Neck. . . . The Miracle soon followed, the Palsy left her, and the Numbness of her Limbs went off. On another Occasion, the little Prophetess became blind; she was carried to another Chamber, threw herself upon the Bed, staid about twenty Minutes, prayed, and was in an Ecstasy. She had before given way to some Doubts, the Spirit which was to restore her to her Sight, reprimanded her severely for that Want of Faith, but was at last appeased, and inspiring by Turns the Prophet and the Prophetess, she entered into a Dialogue^p, the Conclusion of which was, that little *Bess Gray* recovered her Sight: Prophet *Lacy* wrought that Miracle, by striking gently thrice with his two Thumbs the Eyes of the pretended blind Woman. We shall barely mention the wonderful Cure of the Vapours, and feigned Convulsions of the Prophetess^q, how happily the Spirit directed the Prophet’s Hand to the Throat of the Patient, thence to her Bosom, &c. How the Name of this little Prophetess was changed, and she called *Sara*, and married to *Abraham Lacy*^r, and both became

^o *First Letter to Misson*, &c. p. 8.

^p The Dialogue is a Matter-Piece of Libertinism. “ Lord, I come to crave your Help, you only can cure me. *Lacy*. What ails you? *Betty*. Lord, you know I am blind. . . . You may restore my Sight to me. Lord, your Hand must do it. . . . Come quickly. *L.* Child, how long have you been blind, and how did it happen? (*Lacy* had been present all the Time.) *B.* Lord, you know it. *L.* Why do you come to a Man, who cannot give you your Sight? *B.* I have been brought to you to be cured. *L.* By whom? *B.* By the good and Holy Spirit. *L.* Then the Honour of the Cure will be due to that eternal Spirit, which sends and gives the healing Faith: Will you attribute the whole Glory of your Cure to that holy Spirit only? *B.* Yes, Lord, I will.”

^q *Key*, p. 19.

^r *Lacy*, in the Height of Enthusiasm, called this noble Marriage the *Eternal Wedding betwixt him and his Beloved*.

the Parents^c of the new Believers: The wonderful Vocation of the Mathematician to the Office of an Apostle, after which he obtained of the Spirit the Power to confer the full Efficacy of it by the Imposition of his Hands; the Particulars of this Calling we refer to the Note^c, that we may have more Room to display the bold Undertaking of the prophetick Crew, who invited the whole Town to be Witnesses of Prophet *Lacy's* Raising a dead Person to Life. In order to perform this with Success, "the common dead Folks, who are daily buried, would not do, says "my Author" They must have one of their own Chusing; little *Bess Gray*, "who in the Country Journey had ended her Apprenticeship, undertook to play "that Part in *London*. The 17th of *August*, 1707, was the Day appointed. "Some *English* Gentlemen, curious Observers of the *Prophetick Extasies*, met at "the Place. . . . The little Comedian was in a deep Study and violent Agitation. "The Actors of this Comedy said she was at the last Extremity that her Breath "would be stopped, and *Lacy* should bring her to Life. . . . They had even engaged "a Physician of their Party to give some Authority to the Cheat But the "*English* Gentlemen present watched narrowly both the Girl and all their Proceed- "ings. The Scene lasted eight Hours their Intention was to tire out those "troublesome nice Inspectors; they stood it out, now and then they felt the "little Actress's Pulse, so that she could not find a proper Occasion to feign herself "dead." This Miracle failing, two small *English* Pamphlets^{*} were published against them, which ruined their Credit, and dispersed their Adherents and Admirers. Moreover, two Months before this happened, the then Lord Chief Justice had forbid their Assemblies, which probably obliged them to take the above-mentioned Country Journey. Prophet *Marion*, who was *Fatio's* Pupil, was condemned, as being arraigned and convicted of *Imposture, Cheat and Impiety, in his pretended Prophecies*. In the beginning of 1708, the Ring-leaders and Directors of the Faction were put in the Pillory, and from thence we may date their Dispersing themselves into other Countries.

THIS shameful Treatment did not entirely dishearten the Prophets: They had about that Time petitioned for Leave to have Meeting-houses, or Conventicles, as other Sects are allowed to have: They renewed their Demand, and presented a second Petition to the Queen. Moreover, as a great Number of Disciples still adhered to them, they were so impudent, as to fix the Fifth of *June*, 1708, for the Day on which a dead Person was to be raised by them to Life, and that on that Day, Doctor *Emes*, dead and buried, should rise again. The Crowd of those who met to see this Miracle was so prodigious, that the Government was obliged to send a Detachment of the Guards to *Moorfields*, where this wonder was to be performed, to prevent any Disorder. After all, the dead Man remained lifeless, and the Pro-

^c As Mother of the Faithful, she was inspired to work with the Prophets in the Lord's Vineyard. In Consequence of this Inspiration, *Abraham (Lacy)* embraced her, and blessed her in the Presence of the Prophets, who admired *Sara's* well-shaped Legs. This happened in their Country Journey. See *Third Letter* to *Mission*.

¹ See *Second Letter*, p. 16. "The young cunning Baggage, *Betty*, took the Mathematician by the "Hand; he followed her, knelt like a Child before. . . *Lacy*, who made him a long Speech, with large "Promises from the Spirit. . . . He was to be a Pillar. . . in the House of God, to charm his Hearers with "his Eloquence, to obtain the Gift of healing the Sick, and of speaking unknown Languages: *Lacy*, to "ratify this Mission, gave to Brother *Fatio* the Name of *Izaak*, instead of *Nicholas*, saying to him, *You "shall be the Patriarch Izaak*; your Life will not be like his, as to all outward Appearances, you shall "wander, (This was fulfilled, the Prophet was pilloried, and went abroad,) you shall inherit the Promises "made to *Abraham (Lacy)*; you must be subject to me, as *Izaak* was to his Father, &c."

² See *Third Letter*, pag. 19, and following.

^{*} The honest Quaker, and Enthusiastick Impostors. These little Books were published by those, who came to be Witnesses of the pretended Resurrection.

phets were put to their last Shift, and forced to charge this Disappointment on the want of Faith in those who were present.

In the Month of *August*, 1707, *Lacy*, and the other chief Leaders of that Sect, had established a new Way of celebrating the Lord's Supper[†]. A Cloth was spread upon a Table, then a Plate was set upon it, and a Cup. *Lacy*, with his little *Woman-Sister* Prophetess, placed himself at the upper End; the other Prophets and Teachers sat round the Table; then *Lacy* rose up, went to the lower End, and being moved by the Spirit, addressed his spiritual Guests in the Words following. "Friends, " if I had not called you, you would not have come; I have prepared for you this " poor Treat, as to outward Appearance, but well furnished with spiritual Food: " I myself serve my poor Apostles, (he then took his former Place, and went on) " Drink this Wine, it costs me dear. . . . The Wine which I give you, is my Spirit " with his Grace, &c. Rising again, he went round the Table, took the Prophetess " by the Hand, and put it in his, saying, *I here seal the Promises, of which this is " the solemn Sign, &c.* He said the same to all present, bidding them eat spiritually; " which being over, he took off the Cup from the Plate, and presented the Plate to " every one round, saying, *These are spiritual Riches, take some, and feed upon them.*" The Prophet Joiner *Allut*, being on a Communion-Day laid down on the Floor in a perfect Extasy, was by a special Privilege raised up by *Lacy*, who honoured him with a Speech; and having performed the Communion-Service, took *Allut* by the Hand, and both being inspired, and put in Motion by the same Spirit, they danced three or four Turns round the Room, singing, *The Great King comes in Triumph.* But we must not tire our Readers with such Fanatical Enthusiasm, mixt with Libertinism, Folly and Wickedness, so shall conclude with the conical Scene of their choosing a Patriarch: He was only to bear the Name, without any Authority; for theirs, and all Fanaticks constant Rule is, to own no Superior in their Church, but to root out ' *all the Bastard Plants by which it has been defiled.* Thus they thought fit to vilify the Church of *England*. The Patriarch whom they chose was a Tavern-Boy about thirteen Years old. The Joiner proposed him, and gave an Account of his Merit; the Prophetess *Betty* laid her Hands upon him, and declared to the Assembly, that *she would make him an Instrument of Glory*; she changed his Name into that of *Jacob*. At that Instant, the prophetick Spirit seized *Lacy*; then the Joiner, then all present; the Teachers and Directors were in violent Agitations, the rest in an extatick Silence: At last, *Allut*, by the Impression of the Spirit, spake, and proclaimed aloud the strange Wonders, which were to be performed by the " Idiot whom they had raised to the patriarchal Dignity. *Lacy* said likewise, that *he gave him his Hand of Association. . . . to work jointly with him in the Vineyard of the Lord.*

These Fanaticks having lost all Credit in *London*, went and spread themselves in several Counties of *England*, and probably reached *Scotland*. The News-Writers, in 1709, published then, that a numerous Assembly of such Enthusiasts met in that Kingdom, under the Direction of a Highlander, named *Mackmillan*; that they preached, and performed other Acts of Devotion in the open Fields, that they had a Way, peculiar to themselves, of celebrating the Lord's Supper, (of which they do not give any Account) that they thundered out Excommunications against all those

[†] *Second Letter*, p. 4.

[‡] The same Letter, p. 9.

[§] He could neither read nor write.

who pretended to Divination, to Witchcraft, all who had taken the Test^b, or received the Communion kneeling, according to the Church of *England's* Rubrick. They were looked upon by some in *Scotland*, as *Jacobites* and Enemies to the established Government; others thought them to be the Remains of those *Cameronians* above-mentioned; or some of the *Camisars*, condemned in *England*, and retired into *Scotland*. However, these Prophets soon left *England*, and fled into *Holland* and *Germany*. *Allut* and his Brethren stayed several Months at *Amsterdam*, and formed there a small Society, which was composed, as in *England*, of three Sorts of Fanaticks, Fools, Libertines, and Ignorant; and amongst them, they had the Satisfaction of winning over to their Party^d a Lady, in whom resided, as a Deposit, the precious prophetick Spirit, which had inspired the famous *Jurieu* to maintain the forlorn Cause of the Prophets in *Dauphiné*. All those enthusiastic Prophets, who could meet again together, have, since that Time, made up a small Sect, not much taken notice of by Strangers, nor even by the Inhabitants of *Amsterdam*. They usually held their Assemblies^e in a House which is out of the Jurisdiction of that City, where, without any great Noise, they went on with their prophetick Extasies, and convulsive Motions.

THE FRENCH CONVULSIONARIES.

THESE do not make a Sect, are not guilty of Heresy or Schism; they are a Set of Men not easy to be defined, and upon whose State and Condition we are not able to frame a certain Judgment; they pretend (and give all possible Proofs of their Sincerity in that Particular) to have nothing but Truth and the Glory of God at Heart. The Convulsionaries owe their Origin to Miracles wrought at the Tomb of *Francis de Paris*, who lies interred at *St. Medard's*, a Parish Church in the Suburbs of the City of *Paris* in *France*: His Father was a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, upon whose Death *Francis*, who was the eldest, resigned his Right to that high Office in favour of his younger Brother, to embrace a retired, poor, and penitential Way of Life in the Ecclesiastical State. The Severity of his Penance was such, that most of his Friends endeavoured, though without Success, to persuade him to moderate the Rigour of it. He appealed from the Constitution *Unigenitus*, published by Pope *Clement XI.* and renewed that Appeal several Times; notwithstanding which he was made a Deacon, and died in the Odour of Sanctity, *May 1. 1727.* Till the Month of *August 1731*, the Wonders wrought at his Burying-Place were not accompanied with any considerable Difference from those mentioned in Scripture, or Ecclesiastical History. Those who were afflicted with Sicknefs, begged the holy Deacons Intercession, were laid upon or under his Tomb-Stone (which was raised from the Ground) and were cured: But in *August 1731*. God was pleased to work his Miracles in a different Manner: Violent Pains, Agitations of the Body, extraordinary Convulsions, were the Means by which the Sick were healed, not all at once, but gradually. This happened to one *Abbé Beecheran*, to *Chevalier Follard*, an antient Officer in the Army, and to several others. The Number of People afflicted with Convulsions increased so fast, and the Confe-

^b An Oath, by which the King is owned as supreme Head of the Church, both in Spirituals and Temporals; and none other.

^c See above in the Dissertation concerning the *Presbyterians*.

^d Mrs. *Jurieu*.

^e Under Pretence of being *Quakers*.

quences of the Meetings at the Tomb appeared (or were represented to the King) so dangerous, that on the 27th of *January* 1732. he issued an Order to shut up the little Churchyard belonging to *St. Medard's Parish*, where *Mr. De Paris* was buried, and not to open it but when necessary for Burials. Some Weeks after *Abbé Becberan* was taken up, and confined at *St. Lazare*, and set again at Liberty about three Months after in *June*. But the Miracles and Convulsions did not cease upon these Oppositions; on the contrary, they daily spread farther, and gained Ground. Towards the end of the Year 1732, those who were in Convulsions began to foretel what is to happen, to discover hidden Secrets, to make Speeches, pathetic Exhortations, sublime Prayers; even those who at other times were wholly unable to perform any such things. In the Month of *March* 1733, the King forbade to make any publick Shew of the Convulsionaries, to meet in private Houses upon that Account, or to go and see those who were actually in Convulsions. These Wonders seemed wholly favourable to the Appellants; we must not therefore think it strange, that those who are for the Constitution wrote against them, nor that the Appellants maintained the Truth of them; and the Dispute was carried on upon that Issue for a considerable Time. But some Disorders being committed by the Convulsionaries, and some of them turning downright Fanaticks, a Division ensued even amongst the Appellants. Some reject all Convulsions, some admit them all; others, and these are the greatest Number, and of the greatest Authority, think it absolutely necessary to examine every Fact, according to the Rules settled by Tradition, pay all due Respect to what shall upon that Enquiry appear to come from God, and reject whatever is against good Order. However as these Convulsionaries own the Authority of the Catholick Church, are willing to stand to its Decision, may appeal to that very Decision, and will not make a Schism upon that Account, the Dispute still lasts, and is not like to end soon: We shall therefore content ourselves with *Gama-liel's* Verdict, *Acts* chap. v. vers. 38 and 39. *If this Council, or this Work, be of Men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it.* But if any of our Readers are desirous of knowing what is said on both Sides of the Question, they may have Recourse to the King's Edicts, the Declaration of some Physicians and Surgeons, appointed to examine some Convulsionaries; the present Archbishops of *Sens* and of *Paris*, their Pastoral Instructions, and to an infinite Number of Writings on that Side of the Dispute. On the Part of the Appellants, they may consult the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques*, the Bishops of *Auxerre* and *Montpellier's* Instructions, and the late Work, which *Mr. De Montgeron* had the Courage to present to the King, and for which he is still in Banishment.

A

DISSERTATION

On the Religion of the ANABAPTISTS.

THE Account contained in the foregoing Dissertation, might be only a Disposition, an Essay, or a Plan to raise new Sects. Prophecies, Visions, Convulsions, repeated Promises^a of repairing Mankind, and restoring Body and Soul to their Primitive Strength and Vigor, might be looked upon as *Phænomena*, portending new Revolutions in the latter Ages, or at least apt to weaken and intimidate the Minds of the Vulgar, who generally lean towards Prodigies and extraordinary Promises. A wandering Life^b, its natural Consequences, Misery and Crime, only served as a Proof that People who were thus united, though without Principles and Laws, might probably be the wretched Remains of some Sect of an antient Date fallen into Contempt. The present Subject is of greater Moment: We are to give an impartial Relation about a Sect, looked upon as fanatical^c in its Infancy; yet in Process of time, settled, owned, and, if we may say so, *legitimated*, tho' not trusted with any temporal Power. These are the Anabaptists, of whom the following Account will be conformable to the nicest Rules of Veracity, which we have hitherto deavoured to follow exactly.

THE common Opinion is, that the Patriarch of the Anabaptists in the Low-Countries, and the neighbouring Parts of *Germany*, was one *Melchior Hofman*, first a Tradesman^d, then a Preacher in 1525, or 1527. Having preached first in *Livonia* and other Places, he exercised his Ministerial Office at *Embsen*, where he left a Vicar, who spread the Doctrine of his Master in *Holland*^e. But we shall soon convince our Readers, that *Anabaptism* had a more early Beginning, five or six Years before *Hofman*'s Mission. *Luther* reproaches him with the same Fault, of *having taken upon him to preach without a Call*, with which he himself, and all the other Reformers, had been charged. Our Readers may find an Account of *Hofman* in *Bayle*'s Dictionary: His Opinions were fanatical and absurd. He pretended to be the Restorer of Christianity, and the Founder of a new Kingdom: He maintained that Christ had only one Nature, and could not be united to a Body taken from the Blessed Virgin, because all human Flesh was defiled and cursed. The whole Work of our Salvation, in his Opinion, depends entirely and solely on our Free-will, and he taught that Infant-Baptism was brought in by that Enemy of God and Men, Satan.

BE that as it will, 'tis however certain that this Doctrine is of a much older Date than *Hofman*, and the other pretended Patriarchs of the Anabaptists, whose Tenets took their Rise much earlier. This we must first prove, and then proceed to give

^a The *Roscrucian* Brethren.

^b The *Bohemians* or *Gypsies*.

^c The present Anabaptist Teachers pretend to abhor Fanaticism, and lay it from themselves upon those who infested *Germany* in the sixteenth Century.

^d He was a Furrier, and dealt in Skins. See a Citation in *Bayle*, in the Article *Hofman*.

^e He was afterwards put to Death at the *Hague*.

a clear but short Abstract of the Doctrine and Actions of those furious Enthusiasts, who openly embraced and became the Ringleaders of that Faction. We might easily trace the Footsteps of Anabaptism amongst the Heresies broached in the first Ages of Christianity. But we need not make a Shew of Erudition, by copying Books which are in every Body's Hands. We shall not go further back than the eleventh Century; in which lived in *Brabant* a Fanatick named *Tankelm*, after whom *Muntzer* and *John Buckold*, commonly called *John of Leyden*, the chief Leaders of the Fanatical *Anabaptists* of the sixteenth Century, seem to have copied: *Tankelm* pretended also to the Royal Dignity and Power; like them he had his Guards; a naked Sword and a Royal Standard were carried before him: His Life was equally criminal, and his Temper as cruel and barbarous; like them he infested the Country, by sending about his emissaries and the People whom he had seduced; he preached in the open Fields, pretended to Prophecy and Inspiration; the Resemblance was as great in the Doctrinal Points. His Flock, and no other, was the Church; like all other Fanatics he allowed every Layman to preach, &c. Some of his Disciples held that the *Sacrament of Baptism* was not necessary for the Salvation of Children. In the same Age, one *Henry*, a Follower of *Peter de Bruis*, was the Author of a Sect called *Henricians*, well known in *Languedoc* and throughout *France* by the Name of *Albigenses*, who were but a Spawn of former Hereticks and *Manicheans*, justly or unjustly so called; (for it must be acknowledged, that in those Days, whatever seemed contrary to the received Doctrine of the Church, or levelled against its Ministers, was branded with the odious Appellation of *Manicheism*.) This *Henry* and his Followers baptized People over again, exclaimed against Infant-Baptism, under Pretence that they could not believe, or receive any Instructions. They pretended likewise, as the *Anabaptists* of the sixteenth Century did since, that no Man ought to have any private or particular Possessions. We need not strictly inquire into all the Branches of this Sect of *Henricians*, *Petro Brufians*, or *Albigenses*; but we may look for and find amongst them the Forerunners and Preliminaries of *Anabaptism*. However we must take notice, that in the same Age one *Constantine Chrysomalus*¹ had taught at *Constantinople*, and published in his Writings, what is likewise the Doctrine of the *Anabaptists*, that to honour Princes and Magistrates is as criminal as to adore Satan; that Baptism given to Children does not make them truly Christians; because they are not yet capable of being instructed. As to Regeneration, and the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, he maintained the same Opinions, and spoke like a true *Quaker* or *Anabaptist*. The Reader may see all these Particulars in Citations from original² Pieces.

We need not mention some Men, who took upon themselves the Name of *Apostolicks* in the thirteenth Century; who from *Italy*, where they began to preach, spread throughout *Europe*. They are taxed likewise with rejecting Infant-Baptism; *Doucin*, their Chief, called his Sect the *Spiritual Congregation*, the *Apostolical Order*, and condemned the Church and its Head, as having been reprobate long before his Time. He bragged, as the *Quakers* have done since, that his Party was the only free and the only perfect. Poverty, Humility, Community of Goods he recommended, as the first *Anabaptists* did; he was positive, that War, Swearing, paying Tythes, Prosecutions, and hindering other Men from professing or doing what they pleased,

¹ Under the Reign of *John Comnenus*.

² See *Allatius*, lib. 2, ch. 11. *De Eccles. Orient. & Occid. perpetua Consensione*.

were unlawful Actions: Preaching and Praying, he said, might be done every where, in the Woods or in the Streets, as well as in the Churches. He even allowed Wives to be in common, at least this is laid to his Charge. We might likewise prove, that the *Waldenses* and *Bohemians* held the same Doctrine ^b as the *Anabaptists*; but the latter own, and glory in it ^c.

THIS is sufficient to prove, that the *Anabaptists*, like all other new Sects, have not even the Merit of Invention to boast of; but have taken up old Heresies broached long before. Now to fix the exact time of their renewing those ancient Tenets, we must with *Bayle*, *Bossuett* and other Authors, date it from the Year 1521; and own that their true Founders and Patriarchs were *Nicholas Stork*, *Mark Stubner*, and *Thomas Muntzer*: The Storm raised by Lutheranism in Germany, and the Doctrine preached by the Apostle of the Reformation, *Martin Luther*, gave them an Opportunity, and Grounds to build their System. He maintained that a *Christian is the Master of all things, and not subject to any Power; whereas he who is not a Christian, is a downright Slave*. We cannot but take notice, that *Zeno* and the *Stoicks* expressed themselves much in the same Terms, ^k and that it is very wonderful such Opinions did not encourage the Fanaticks, in the Time of Paganism, to rebel; as they did Christians in the latter Ages. But, to return to our *Anabaptist* Leaders: They first endeavoured to become popular, and gain the Affection of the vulgar sort; a necessary Step to bring on Revolutions, to settle a Sect, or form a powerful Faction, and without which it is not possible to draw in those of a higher Rank. *Nicholas Storch*, or *Storch*, born in *Misnia*, was very learned in the Opinion of some, whilst others thought him very ignorant; however he was crafty enough to act the Part of a Fanatick. He entertained his Countrymen the *Misnians* with strange Visions; *Stubner* more subtle and cunning, and *Munzer* ^l more bold and enterprizing than *Storch*, soon came in to his Help. Cotemporary Authors relate, that this Triumvirate won on the People, by a devout and mortified Countenance, they fasted, and practised other Severities, their Clothing was coarse, they let their Beards grow, and neglected entirely their bodily Welfare. They travelled through Germany, preaching up their pretended Gospel Liberty, which consisted wholly in renouncing all temporal Authority; and under Pretence that all Men were free, and of an equal Condition^m, raising Rebellion against secular Princes. *Muntzer*, who was of a fiery, enterprizing, and seditious Temper, soon gathered a considerable Army, chiefly if not wholly composed of Country Fellows, with which he over-run and laid waste all Germany: This is the War which Historians call the *Country-Peasants War* ⁿ. At or before the Beginning of it, they published a *Manifesto*, which contained twelve Articles; in one of them they declared they would not obey any Princes or Magistrates beyond what should appear to them just and reasonable. *Muntzer* was at the Head of this Rebellion; his chief Favourite and Counsellor was one *Pfeifer* a Monk, who had left his Convent, and embraced the Doctrine of *Luther*. This Man acted the Part of a Fanatick and an Enthusiast to the Life,

^b See Tom. 3. of the *Ceremonies*, Dissertation on the *Waldenses* and *Bohemians*.

^c See Apol. Anabapt. by *Galen*, and Hist. Mennonitar. by *Schyn*.

^k Wife Men only are free, are Kings, &c. was *Zeno's* fundamental Opinion, and he was the Founder of the *Stoicks*.

^l He had first been a Priest, then became *Luther's* Disciple, and in such Credit as to be looked upon as his Vicar.

^m He bragged, that God had made choice of him to pull down all temporal Power, being resolved to bear no longer with their unjust and vexatious Proceedings.

ⁿ This War broke out in 1524.

and bragged that God had given positive Orders to *Muntzer* for setting up an universal Liberty; accordingly the last mentioned took upon him the Title of *The Servant of God against the Wicked*. We shall not enter into the Particulars of this War, nor give an Account of all the pretended Visions and Revelations which they published, in order to promote a general Revolt; we shall only inform our Readers, that the Army of this Fanatick was entirely defeated in the Month of May, 1525, *Muntzer* and his Counsellor *Pfeifer* were both taken Prisoners, and beheaded. The Catholicicks did not fail to charge the whole War, and its direful Consequences, on the erroneous and absurd Doctrine taught by *Luther*.*

MUNTZER, and his above-mentioned Associates, left behind them many Disciples, who laboured with great Industry to propagate his Sect; some went as Missioners of the new Gospel into *Poland*; others into *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. *Hofman*, as we said before, went into the *Low-Countries*, and *Balthassar Hubmeyer* preached the *Anabaptists* Opinions in *Switzerland*. The Sect increased so fast in this Country, that the Magistrates of *Zurick* thought fit at last to condemn their chief Teachers to Death. Before they published this Decree, which happened in 1530, Writings and Conferences were made use of to bring those Sectaries to a better Disposition. *Hubmeyer*, who had been banished by the Magistrates of *Zurich*, retired to *Moravia*, and was burnt at *Vienna*, in the Year 1527.

HIS Banishment did not put an end to *Anabaptism* in *Switzerland*; *Blaurock*, *Felix Manz* and *Grubelius* remained; these three Enthusiasts employed themselves to stir up the People to a Sedition, which obliged the Government to have recourse to Penalties more severe than Exile. *Manz* was drowned by publick Sentence; *Blaurock* whipt in the open Streets, then banished, but brought back to Prison, because he would not obey that Order†.

SCHWENCFELT, who was first a *Lutheran*, became an Apostle of *Anabaptism* in *Silesia*. He taught, that the Flesh of Christ was not created, and that it was deify'd and absorbed in the Godhead. His Doctrine was so little different from the Generality of the *Anabaptists*, that it was not necessary to mention the *Schwenckfeldians*, unless it was in order to increase the Number of imaginary Sects. The German Historian *Zeiler*, cited by *Ott*, who wrote the *Anabaptistical Annals*, mentions *Schwenckfeldians*, settled in *Moravia*, as a distinct Sect; but nothing can be inferred from thence, except that each Congregation of those Fanaticks was distinguished by the Name of its Teacher or first Founder. *Hutter* was seduced by *Hubmeyer*, and served to spread *Anabaptism* still more in *Moravia*‡; his Flock was called *The Hutterian Brethren*§. *David George*, a Native of *Delft*, preached in his own Country, much about the same time as *Hofman* did. He is said to have assumed the Character of the *Messiah*, and of one sent by God to publish a new Adoption of Children of the Most High; he is likewise charged with denying the Resurrection,

* *Luther* was sensible at last, tho' too late, of the evil Tendency of his Principles, and to clear himself as much as he could, he wrote a Book against the Rebellion of these Country-Peasants.

† See *Bayle*, in the Article of *Anabaptists*; also the *History of Anabapt.* Edition of 1700. See likewise the Continuation of *Fleury's Eccles. Hist.* tom. 27 and 28. in Twelves; and other Writers.

‡ He perished in the Tyrol. See *Hist. of the Anab.* above cited.

§ See the Preface to *Ott's Annals of Anabapt.*

¶ In the said *Annals*, in the Year 1570, there is a Citation which proves, that the *Schwenckfeldians* did not differ from other *Anabaptists*. The same is very probably true of each other small Congregation.

¶ This *Hutter* was a furious choleric Enthusiast. His Letter to the *Moravian* Lords shews his Notions were not settled, nor his Designs, however, he was burnt at *Innsbruck*.

¶ The Passage taken from *Zeiler*, makes mention likewise of another Flock, under the Appellation of *Brethren Switzer*: This was made up of those *Anabaptists* who fled from *Switzerland*.

and another Life, allowing Wives to be in common, pretending that Sin defiled only the Body; of despising Martyrs, and maintaining that it was to no Purpose to suffer upon Account of Religion. As those who draw up Catalogues of Heresies are not very scrupulous and nice, they moreover accuse him of holding Opinions diametrically opposite to these already mentioned, such as, that the Souls of Infidels should be saved; which Error is not to be reconciled to his denying the Resurrection. But Quacks in History, like those in Physick, are not ashamed even of plain Contradictions. *David George* retired to *Basil*, and died there: One Historian says^a, that he was sentenced to be publicly whipt at *Delft*, that his Tongue was bored through, and he sent into Banishment for six Years: The same Author adds, that his Doctrine was thought so detestable and shameful by the other *Anabaptists*, that being excommunicated by them, he was forced to form a separate Congregation.

THE shameful Crimes against Chastity, with which the first *Anabaptists* have been charged, require that we should make a Digression to speak of the *Antinomians*^y, otherwise called *Islebiens*, because *Agricola* their Founder was of that Place. He taught, that the Law is of no Use, that good Works are unprofitable, and bad Actions hinder not Salvation; that God does not chastise a whole Nation for its Sins; that Crimes are such only when committed by the Wicked: that the Faithful being once assured of Salvation, ought never to doubt of it^z, whatever they may do against it; that no Man ought to be troubled in his Conscience for his Sins; that 'tis needless to exhort Christians to the Practice of their Duty; that Christ alone being holy and full of Grace, he alone does good Actions; and that, let the Lives of Christians be ever so disorderly, the Faith in the Gospel-Promises sets them in the Way to Happiness. This is the Description given of *Agricola's* Doctrines, which are after all but Consequences drawn by his Enemies from his Manner of explaining some Passages of Saint *Paul's* ^a Epistles. We do not by this intend to justify *Agricola*; all here meant is only that Controversists are not always fair Disputants, but charge their Adversaries with Consequences which they disown. See that good Man *Garasse's* comical Mistake about *Agricola*^b, in the Note.

The Severity of the Edicts published in *Germany* and *Switzerland* against the Anabaptists, and several of them being punished according to the Rigor of those Orders, were the Occasion of the Fanaticism's spreading in lower *Germany* and *Holland*. The Temper of those People naturally inclined to Melancholy, and the gross Ignorance which then reigned amongst them disposed their Minds to favour Fanaticism so far, that nothing but Prophecies, Visions, new Gospel-Lights, a new Kingdom, the publishing a new Law, and such Chimæra's, could find Admittance in their Thoughts or Discourses. The Anabaptists published a Book entitled, *The Work of Re-Establishment*, in which they maintained, with the Millenarians, that before the last Judgment Christ would reign temporally upon Earth, and his Kingdom would begin by the settling of their Doctrine. They themselves were the Just, who were to reign with Christ, and as being the choicest of the Just, they flattered themselves with the Hopes of enjoying many Wives. Such alluring Promises to natural Cor-

^a See *Hist. of Anabapt.* p. 35. and their *Annals*.

^y The Signification of that Word is *Opposite to the Law*.

^z The same Consequences are charged upon *Calvin's* Doctrine about the Decree of God concerning Predestination and Reprobation.

^a See *Bayle's* Dictionary on *Agricola* and *Islebius*.

^b *Garasse*, instead of *John Agricola of Isleb*, calls him *John Isleb a Husbandman or Plowman*. See *Bayle's* Dictionary.

ruption; the Community of Goods, which they prescribed; the Contempt of all temporal Power, which they professed, brought over to their Party all the Libertines and wicked Men, by whose Help they soon became so formidable, that they had near overpowered several considerable Towns of *Holland*; but the Storm at last fell upon *Munster*. They became Masters of that Town in 1534, under the Conduct of *John Mattheus*, who being killed at the Siege, was succeeded by *John Beccold*, known by the Name of *John of Leyden* *. This Man from a Taylor was raised to the Dignity of King of *Munster*, by a pretended Revelation from God to the *Anabaptist Knipperdoling*. So many Authors have given a full Account of the Disorders committed under the Government of this Fanatical Taylor, that we need not rehearse them in this Place, we shall only set down in the Marginal Note † some remaining Monument of his chimerical kingly Power.

MUNSTER was retaken from those Enthusiasts in *June* 1535, their King, his Counsellors and Prophets were put to Death, and severe Laws were enacted against them. An Assembly held at *Hamburg*, took several Resolutions to that end, which are worth notice, and may be seen in the ‡ *History of the Anabaptists*. Those Resolutions were followed by a rigorous Edict, they were prosecuted with the utmost Severity, and as many as were caught were more or less punished according to the Crimes by them committed. In *Holland*, *Friesland*, and other Places of the Low Countries, they were put to cruel Torments: and it must be owned no Punishment could be too severe for such Miscreants, who made Religion to be a Cloak to overthrow all Government, and to countenance a Libertinism which they carried to the highest Pitch of Scandal and Profaneness, where ever they could get footing: as they did chiefly in those Provinces of the Low Countries, which many Years after were called the *United Provinces*. After all, these *Anabaptists* suffered Death with a Constancy, which, had their Cause been better, would have deserved to be admired by all Christians. They underwent the severest Trials like true Martyrs, and, to their Cost, were at last guilty of an obstinate Fanaticism. So true it is, that Stubbornness and Prevention may inspire as much Strength as a good Cause: But true Constancy and Intrepidity is that only which is grounded on solid Principles and just Reasoning.

SOME of the seditious *Anabaptists* of *Holland* fled † into *England*; and after the ill Success of their Project to become Masters of the Low Countries, were content to spread their Doctrine there; but we have already taken notice that the *English* Government put some of those Refugees to Death, because they would not give over dogmatizing.

WE must now place in one View the Doctrine of the first *Anabaptists*; and afterwards represent the same Sect cured of its Enthusiasm, and violent Fanaticism, which like a contagious Distemper had raged during a Series of many Years, and might be deemed an Epidemical Sickness.

SOME Ecclesiastical Writers of the sixteenth Century relate, that the *Anabaptists* themselves had digested the whole System of their Doctrine into seven Articles, which they published in the Year 1529. 1. A Christian ought not to bear Arms, or

* So called because he was a Native of *Leyden*.

† The first Medal represents him with these Words, *John of Leyden King of Munster*; on the other Side were these Words, *The Power of God is my Strength*. The other Medals had these Words, *The Word of God is made Flesh, and is in us*, &c.

‡ P. 192, and following.

§ The *Quakers* owe their Rise to these *Anabaptists*, and this is the Reason why their Opinions bear so great a Resemblance.





acknowledge any Magistrates, because Christ has said, *The Kings of Nations domineer over them, but it shall not be so amongst you.* But they took Arms so often, and the Obedience which they paid to *John of Leyden* was so blind and passive, that they believed in Practice what they held in Theory, not being able to comply with this pretended Duty; and accordingly, to excuse their own Breach of it, they were obliged to soften it by adding this Clause, *That Magistrates and Princes are to be obeyed only in their just and rational Commands.*

2. IT is not lawful to swear, not even when the Magistrates order us to lift up our Hands.

3. ALMIGHTY God does not call any true Christian to administer Justice, or to preserve the publick Tranquillity. This Principle destroys all Society, and would not fit even Highwaymen, since^d even these cannot live without some Order or some Rules.

4. THE Chair of *Moses* is only with the *Anabaptists*, and no one can be predestinated to eternal Life, unless he belongs to that Sect.

5. FROM whence it follows, by a necessary Consequence, that they only have a Right to preach the Gospel, and to convert Mankind.

6. ALL those therefore who oppose the Progress of *Anabaptists* are to be deemed Reprobates.

7. WHOEVER then at the Day of the last Judgment shall not be found to have professed *Anabaptism*, shall infallibly be placed on the left Hand, amongst the Goats; and on the contrary, God will acknowledge as his own Sheep, and set on the right Hand all true and faithful *Anabaptists*.

THESE were the principal Tenets of *Anabaptism*, which their Teachers varied, changed, and amplified, as it suited their present Purpose, or as the fanatical Spirit directed them, yet in such a manner as to remain still^e one and the same Sect. We have seen before, which were the Opinions of *Hofman*, whom some Compilers of Heretical Catalogues have thought fit to reckon as the Founder of a pretended Sect of *Melchiorists*, though 'tis evident, all things considered, that the true Doctrine of the first fanatical *Anabaptists* is more fully expressed in the Articles of *Hofman* than in the seven just mentioned: and accordingly, notwithstanding some Differences of little Importance, the *Anabaptists* have always looked upon him as one of their chief Masters and Teachers. We cannot say so much for *David George* and some others, whom, we are told, were excommunicated by them: Another Trick of these Compilers, to increase the Number of Heresies, is to reckon as many Sects as there are Ringleaders of each. Thus, besides the *Melchiorists*^f, they mention the *Hutterians* from *Huter*, the *Munzerians* from *Munzer*, &c. As to the *Mennonites*, they must be set a-part, as having, under the Conduct of *Menno*, thrown off the extravagant

^d *Leges Latronum esse dicuntur quibus pareant, quas observent*, Cicero lib. 2. Offic. No Society ever did, or ever can subsist without some Order, some Rules agreed upon to be kept at least for a Time: They may vary according to the different Circumstances of Persons, Time and Place; but some are absolutely necessary. Not to mention those grounded upon Religion and Virtue; the Desire of Gain, our own Weakness, the want of being helped by others in our Wants, are a sufficient Proof of this Truth; though much cannot be expected from Rules barely grounded on such Motives; because as it was said of Pirates, *Cretensis incedit in Grentsem*, yet even Bandits must have and keep some Order and Rule.

^e Variety of Opinions does not always produce a Distinction of Sects, as we find by daily Experience, even in the Catholick Church, where Jesuits and Dominicans so widely differ in Opinion, yet preserve the Unity of Communion.

^f *J. H. Ott.* in the Preface to his *Annal Anabapt.* has a complete Alphabetical Catalogue of all the *Anabaptistical* Sects to the Number of seventy seven; amongst which he reckons the *Mamillarians*, a *quidam qui Mamillas puellæ contréclavit*, and the *Ollarians* who loved good Eating and Drinking, *ab Olli a Parridge-Pot*; to be sure these two were the most numerous. We shall not follow his Example, but give only our Readers an Account of the most remarkable Differences.

and senseless Enthusiasm of their Predecessors. But to reduce their System to its Standard: Every one knows that Rebaptising is the fundamental Principle of Anabaptism: Besides this, they maintained that Christ did not take Flesh in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, that he is only an adoptive Son of God, that *Adam's* Sin being atoned for by Christ, the Faithful are by him reinstated in the Sanctity and Innocency of the first Man before his Fall[§]; that the Soul of Man is created before the Body, and sins in Heaven; that the Stars and other celestial Bodies are animated; that the Torments of the Devils, and those who are damned shall have an End; that after Baptism Men sin no more, and then the Flesh which sins does not defile the Soul; that they themselves are the chosen Children of God, a *second Israel*. Upon this Account *John of Leyden* took upon himself the Title of King of the *New Jerusalem*. They refused to be subject, or to obey Magistrates; their Notions about Marriage were false and dangerous, if it be true that they allowed a Man to repudiate his Wife upon every Occasion, even for a Disgust. This has brought upon them another Accusation of their believing that Polygamy is lawful: But either their Adversaries have objected to them as a Point of their Doctrine, what was only their Practice; or their Teachers delivered that Opinion only in order to palliate their criminal Lusts^h. They preach up, that all Goods should be in common, were declared Enemies to all Learning, and ordered all Books to be destroyed except the Bible; which, as it appears by their Practice and Teaching, is only a dead Letter, not to be explained but by Inspiration. They published, that their Kingdom was the new Reign of Christ, during which it was lawful for them to destroy all those who were not or should refuse to become *Anabaptists*. These two last mentioned Tenets were the true Grounds of that prophetic fanatical Character which they assumed, some pretending to be *Elias*, others *Enoch*, or even the *Messiah*.

No one can think it strange that such Men should be dealt with as Rebels, Impostors, and Enemies to publick Peace and Society: If it be objected, that it would have been better to confine them as Madmen, the Answer is easy. It was unavoidably requisite to make an Example of their Ringleaders to frighten the Rest; and as they had thrown off all Sense of Humanity in their barbarous Cruelties, they were to be treated as wild Beasts; but the many thousands imposed upon and seduced by those Fanaticks, were used with more Lenity. One of the Articles drawn up in the Assembly of *Hamburg*, which said, that *the Anabaptists might and ought to be punished with Death*, adds these Words, *chiefly those who seduce others*. It was enacted at the same time, that *those who through Weakness, through Ignorance, &c. had offended, should be shut up in Houses of Correction erected for that Purpose, where they should be used with Severity, and yet be allowed all the Instruction by which they might be brought back to their Duty*. As to Foreigners, it was agreed they should only be banished, and not put to Death, unless they came back to preach their shameful Doctrine. But to return to the various Errors of the *Anabaptists*: A Letter wrote by *Hooper*ⁱ to *Bullinger* in the Month of *June 1649*, says of the *Anabaptists* who retired into *England*, "They daily Flock hither..... and pretend that "a Man once reconciled with God, is ever after without Sin, and freed from all

[§] See on this Innocency restored what we shall say hereafter of the *Adamites*.

^h Polygamy, and all other Sins against Chastity, have been practised by the wicked Part of all Religions, but no Sect has ever taught the Lawfulness of them, as their only Doctrine: and it is not unlikely that what is objected to the *Anabaptists*, is only a false Consequence, or at least not owned by them, deduced from their Doctrine of Goods being common, or from the criminal Excesses committed amongst them, chiefly by their Teachers.

ⁱ See *Annal. Anabapt. of Ott.* for the Year 1649.

^k We need not repeat here some of their Opinions mentioned before.

“ inordinate Desires ; there remains nothing in him of the old *Adam* : If it should
 “ happen that a regenerate Person, who has received the Holy Ghost, should fall
 “ into Sin, he can never obtain Forgiveness. God is, in their Opinion, subject to a
 “ fatal and absolute Necessity ; besides the Will which he has notified to us in the
 “ Holy Scriptures, he has another by which he is forced to do necessarily¹ what he
 “ does. . . . some of them think that the Souls of Men are not different from the
 “ Beasts, but equally mortal, &c.”

THE first *Anabaptists* denied likewise original Sin, and all the Consequences which flow from it ; they maintained that Laymen may preach and administer the Sacraments, because the Scripture, as they pretended, does not anywhere appropriate those Functions to a particular Set of Men, and that we are not allowed to add outward Shew to them, or leave their Performance to Ministers preferably to others ; that by Consequence the Master of a Family, without wearing a four-cornered Cap, or a black Gown, or a Surplice, might very lawfully administer the Lord's Supper to his Family, and baptise his own Child (when come to the Use of Reason ; for they reject Infant-Baptism, and to this Day maintain, that Scripture in general, and the Words of Christ in particular, evidently prove, that Baptism is not to be without actual Faith.) War was held in Abhorrence, as being contrary to the Gospel-Precept literally understood, by which we are forbid to do evil, or to revenge ourselves : As to their Disobedience and Want of Submission to Magistrates, they grounded their Notion upon a charitable Principle, because forsooth it is a State in which Men cannot be saved.

WE shall next entertain our Readers with what regards the Discipline of these antient *Anabaptists*^m. We are told, that those of *Moravia*^m “ performed their
 “ Devotions on two consecutive Days of the Week, *Saturday Evening* and *Sunday*
 “ Morning : They omitted this Part of the Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our*, &c. because being regenerated, they esteemed themselves to be without Sin. They prayed
 “ sitting. . . . Instead of the Psalms, they sung some spiritual Canticles composed by
 “ their Teachers. They owned only the New Testament ; it was their only Rule,
 “ and they read that alone ; their Sermons were extremely long and tedious. They
 “ had a Chieftain (some call him a King) who did not appear or make himself
 “ known, but secretly governed the whole Anabaptistical Sect, (at least those of
 “ *Moravia* :) He had twelve who governed under him. As the rigorous Laws enacted against them, obliged them to hide themselves, their Children were privately
 “ brought up at a Distance, till they were of a competent Age to make their Appearance without running any Hazard. About the Feast of Pentecost, and after
 “ they had received the Communion, they made Choice of the Missionaries,
 “ whom they sent into foreign Countries to propagate their Doctrine. Likely those
 “ Missionaries went in a Disguise, and did not shew themselves to any but such
 “ whom they found disposed to hear them. They went readily to the Post assigned
 “ to them by their Superior ; and for fear of being found out took By-Roads.
 “ Their outward Behaviour was very imposing ; so that it was next to an Impossibility not to be deceived. Their Dress was plain, their Looks demure, and in
 “ their Words and Actions they made a Shew of great Patience and Meekness : Be-

¹ Had they meant no more, than that God cannot act against his own Attributes, his Goodness for Instance, or his Justice, this would not have been erroneous : But then this does not infer a fatal Necessity.

^m Disciples of *Huter*, whom *Zeiler* calls *Huterian Brethren*.

* This is taken from *Zeiler* cited by *Ott* in his *Annal. Anabapt.* on the Years 1587, 1617, &c.

“ fides their cast-down Looks, they were forbid swearing, taking any Oaths, using
 “ any indecent or immodest Words. A Salute or Kiss was reckoned an enormous
 “ Crime ; infomuch that one of them, who was married to an old Woman, being
 “ so unfortunate as to be caught in the Fact of kissing a *young Sister*, who was very
 “ pretty (probably to indemnify himself, and make amends for the Disgusts he
 “ found in his old Wife) was cited to appear before the whole Assembly of the
 “ *Anabaptists* : Both were severely reprimanded and threatned to be cast out from
 “ the *holy Congregation*, and sent back into the World of the *Infidels and Wicked*.
 “ The Brethren and Sisters of the Assembly interceded for them ; notwithstanding
 “ which, the Man, who was a Master Shoemaker, had this Penance enjoined him,
 “ to be degraded for fifteen Days from his Degree of a Master, and to work with
 “ the Apprentices or Journeymen, and to be treated no better than one of them.”
 Tho’ this Discipline of the *Moravian Anabaptists* seems so severe, yet the same Au-
 thor takes notice, that “ they loved Drinking to Excess. . . . that they celebrated the
 “ Lord’s Supper with little or no Devotion, and that when the time of administering
 “ it drew near, they rejoiced, not out of a pious Inclination, but in Hopes of meet-
 “ ing with some Diversion. . . .” Moreover, those who pretended to be best acquainted
 with them, accused them of being vain, haughty and proud, prone to carnal Sins,
 and apt to invade the Property of their Neighbours, &c. What can one think
 of such Variety of Reports ? To be sure those who have given such contradictory
 Descriptions of Sects, were either very ignorant, or laboured under very great Preju-
 dices : Tho’ it may likewise be alledged, that it is almost impossible to know every
 Sect, and that the more they are inclined to Fanaticism, the more difficult it is to
 reduce to a consistent System their Notions, which are often wavering, as being only
 the Produce of enthusiastical Fits. Most of these *Anabaptists* (whom the Author
 reckons to have amounted to the Number of seventy thousand at the Time when
 he wrote) were Labourers, Gardners, Journeymen or Tradesmen. This put them
 to hard Shifts in breeding up their Children, and serving their Masters, or exercising
 their respective Trades ; as soon as the Children were born, they were taken from
 their Parents, and as we said before, privately kept in the Schools or rather Semina-
 ries belonging to that Sect. In the Year 1622, the *Moravian Anabaptists* were obliged
 to leave that Country upon Account of a violent Persecution raised against them, and
 several Families of them took Refuge in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*.

THE same Writer informs us*, that the *Anabaptists* of the *Palatinate* differed
 but little from the *Huterians* of *Moravia* ; that they were inured to Fatigues, labo-
 rious, and not easy in their Circumstances ; which nevertheless did not hinder them
 from allowing a decent Maintenance to their Pastors, and taking great Care of the
 Poor and the Sick. “ They have an Abhorrence, says the Author from whom we
 “ borrow these Particulars, of all the *Anabaptists* who teach the Divinity of Christ.
 “ They keep themselves in a State of Separation from other *Anabaptists*, nor are
 “ they in Communion even with those of *Switzerland*. They marry only such as
 “ belong to their Congregation : the Chief, who governs it, is called *Elder*, and
 “ has under him some other Elders†, who preside in Assemblies † subordinate to

* Those Titles they bestowed on all other Christian Assemblies. See *Out.* on the Year 1607.

† See *Out.* in the Year 1656.

‡ This shews that the *Socinians* are often confounded with *Anabaptists*, and to this Day there are many
Socinians and *Anti-Trinitarians* amongst the *Anabaptists* in the united Provinces.

§ *Subseniores*.

¶ *Collegiorum præsides*.

“ the whole Congregation: In difficult Points the Chief calls these *under Elders* together, and holds a Synod. They are also Ministers or Pastors of the Sect, which has twelve Colleges, (Churches or Assemblies) one in the *Palatinate*, ten in *Hungary*, and one in *Transylvania*. Most Princes and States, chiefly of those who call themselves *Evangelicks* (Protestants) are very willing to employ them, because they are sober, laborious, and understand all Trades, excepting such Machines and Instruments as are made use of in the Wars, &c.” This is what appears worth Notice concerning the Discipline of those *Anabaptists*, who did not rebel against the civil Power, or at least did not attempt its Overthrow by open Force.

THE antient *Anabaptists* were subject to Convulsions and Inspirations exactly like those of these latter Days. “ When the Spirit seizes the *Anabaptists*, says an eminent Writer of the Calvinistical Party¹, their Countenance alters, their bodily Motions are apt to strike with Terror those who look at them; they fall suddenly, as if in a Fit of Epilepsy; they lie upon the Ground for a considerable Time stretched out in the Posture of a dead Man. Sometimes their whole Body shakes, and is in a frightful Agitation, at other times they are as motionless as a Log of Wood: When they come out of this Extasy..... they repeat their Dreams and strange Visions.....” Another Author says, that to put themselves in an Extatic State², they keep their Breath in as long as they possibly can.

WE have entertained our Readers with the different and various Judgments passed upon the Brethren of *Moravia*: But who could ever imagine that the *Anabaptists* of *Switzerland* (those Fanaticks³ accused of the most shocking Obscenities of Rebellion and Rapine; looked upon in their own Country as Incendaries and Firebrands, prosecuted, banished, and even put to Death as guilty of all those Crimes) could ever find an Apologist? Yet they had one of the highest Reputation, even the great *Erasmus*, who lived when Fanaticism was at the Height, and was Contemporary with the Founders of *Anabaptism*⁴. “ The *Switzers* (of *Zurigg*) says he, use their utmost Endeavours to prove, that Hereticks ought not to be put to Death, whilst they themselves kill the *Anabaptists*..... amongst whom several, from a very loose disorderly Life, have been truly converted, and embraced an exemplary Reformation. Tho’ their Opinions may be censured as mad and senseless, yet they have not usurped any Church, nor surprised any Town, they have not contracted any Alliance to the Prejudice of their Sovereign, they do not invade the Lands, and moveable Effects belonging to others.” We may infer from this Quotation, 1. That the seditious *Anabaptists* were not countenanced by the other Societies of that Sect. 2. That excepting these rebellious Fanaticks, the other *Anabaptists* embraced that Doctrine in the Sincerity of their Hearts, and did not carry to any Excess the Principles of their Teachers. 3. That they had not yet got Possession of *Munster*, nor raised any Revolt either in *Holland* or *Germany*. 4. That from the Disorders committed by some seditious *Anabaptists*; from common Reports, which may have both represented these Disorders as being greater than they really were, and even charged the Guilty with

¹ Bulling. adversus Anabapt. lib. xi. chap. 1.

² This Citation is in Ott’s Anal. Anabap. on the Year 1525.

³ See in Ott’s Anal. Anabap. what Crimes are laid to their Charge.

⁴ Miris modis urgent ne hæretici trucidentur, cum ipsi Anabaptistas plestant capite, qui multo paucioribus articulis damnati sunt, & in suo sodalitate plurimos habere dicuntur, qui a perditissima vita ad emendatissimam se converterint. Utcumque delirant in Opinionibus, nullas ecclesias aut urbes occuparunt, nec se facinorosis communiverunt adversus vim Principum, nec quemquam suæ ditione aut facultatibus ejecerunt. And in another Place he speaks of them in these Terms.... Tametsi magno sunt ubique numer, . . . nusquam obtinuerunt propriam ecclesiam..... Vitæ innocentia præ cæteris commendantur, sed a reliquis sectis opprimuntur, non solum ab orthodoxis,

more than were actually done, to render them odious; most People have taken the Liberty to censure the whole Sect, and to draw false Inferences from Particulars to the General. 5. That religious Revolutions had raised such a dangerous Fermentation of Spirits, that probably the Libertins and factious Men at that Time were glad to embrace a Sect, which held Opinions so favourable to Anarchy and Independency; and by which simple and well-meaning Souls might be seduced and flattered, with the Hopes of a thorough Reform in Church and State. On the other Side, the Severity used by most Princes and States against the *Anabaptists*, cannot be justly condemned; if one seriously considers the * obstinate Behaviour, and Tergiversations of those Sectaries in *Switzerland*, and the Danger to which all States were exposed, from the Consequences which flowed from their Doctrine. To which we must beg leave to add, that the rigid *Anabaptists* render themselves entirely useless to a Government in time of Danger, by that favourite Opinion of theirs, that War is not necessary but criminal; and that States are to be defended only by a pious and regular Life: This obliges them to refuse going to War, or performing any military Function; they are to use no other Weapons but Patience and Humility: We are fully convinced of the Inconveniencies such Notions draw after them, by the *Jewish* History: † That Nation by too exact keeping of the Sabbath, was very near being totally destroyed.

The MENNONITES.

THE reformed *Anabaptists* come next under our Consideration; for we must look upon the *Mennonites* in that Light. They not only disown and detest the fanatical Proceedings of the forementioned *Anabaptists*; but likewise pretend to be of an older Date; being the Successors, as they say, of the ^a *Waldenses*; who being persecuted in *France* and *Italy*, retired into *Flanders*, and privately settled in that Country. “In the Year 1500, says our Author, many “People were discovered in *Flanders*, who condemned the Custom of baptizing “Infants, and admitted to that Sacrament, only those who were of a competent “Age, and had given a rational Account of their Faith They were called “for that Reason *Anabaptists* But in the Year 1536 The Appellation of *Mennonites*, was given them from *Menno* a new Reformer, who joined them about that Time.” He had been a Priest or Curate in the Province of *Friesland*, of which he was a Native: Two *Anabaptist* Predicants had gained him over to their Sect, during the *Fanaticism* of *Munster*: The said *Predicants* finding in him a promising Genius, and capable of purging that Sect from its Corruption, invested him ^b with a full Commission to reform *Anabaptism*, which the Fanaticks had shamefully disfigured, and rendered odious. *Menno* apply’d himself to this Work with so much Fervour and Success, that in a short Time his *Reformation* was embraced by a great Number of *Anabaptists*, in *Friesland*, and several other Provinces of the Low Countries. The *Mennonites* are fully persuaded that this sudden Propagation of their Sect, is owing to *Menno*’s sweet Temper, which drew so many Followers after him: ’tis certain, however, that he highly disapproved the ‘Rebellion of *Munster*, and all the

* See Bayle’s Dictionary in the Article *Anabaptists*.

† See 1 Maccab. Chap. ii. Ver. 40, 41. As also Josephus Antiq. Jud. xii. c. 6.

^a See Glen. Apolog. for the Anabapt. As also Schyn. Hist. Mennonit. &c.

^b Hist. Anabapt. p. 210.

^c Non sum Monasteriensis, neque alius seditiosæ sectæ ut me calumniantur, &c. Says *Menno* himself in Schyn. p. 152, of Hist. Mennon. See also p. 225, and foll. and p. 227, and foll.

seditious Sects of the Times he lived in. He even openly declared in one of his Writings, "That there was a greater Difference in Opinions between the *Munsterians* and the other Sects, though sprung from those Fanaticks, than between the *Roman-Catholicks* and the *Lutherans*..... I am but too well convinced, that the "World does not believe it; but our Consciences give us this Testimony." Nevertheless he is accused of giving the Name of *Brethren* to those Fanaticks of *Munster*, but to this Imputation his Friends reply, That the Word *Brethren* is not to be taken in a literal Sense; but only as a Token of Christian Charity: As the Apostles themselves bestowed it on the unbelieving *Jews*. The Author whom we cite in the marginal Note ^b above relates, to the best of his Knowledge, the several Articles in which the Sect of *Menno* differs from the antient *Anabaptists*.

SOME trifling Disputes caused a Disturbance amongst the *Menmonites*: And from thence arose open Breaches and Schisms; the Chief of which was that made by the *Waterlanders*. The Particular Opinions in which they differ from the rest, are ^d "that they will not allow of any Person to be excommunicated, till he has been admonished and exhorted to mend; nor if he gives any Proofs of Repentance, let the Crime be what it would. Yet they did not admit any one without Re-baptisation; so that several of them had received Baptism thrice. They likewise teach, that Christ did not take his Flesh from the blessed Virgin, but brought his Body from Heaven: That he died only to atone for original Sin, not for the actual." The same Author informs us, that in 1557, the Disputes about Excommunications rose to such a Height, that nothing was to be seen but Factions and Divisions, Synods against Synods, which far from remedying the Evil, made it worse, and ^e occasioned farther Quarrels.

Menno died in the Year 1561. The Schism widened betwixt the *Flemish* Anabaptists and those of *Friesland*, so far that they looked upon it, says their Historian, ^g as an unpardonable Crime, to hold the least Correspondence with one another. The *Frieftlanders* were more indulgent about Excommunications, and the Duty of avoiding those who were under that Censure. We must take Notice, that this Sect in general is so touchy about religious Affairs, that it is not easily satisfy'd, but upon the least Dispute rings the alarm Bell, calls out for Help to save Religion from Danger, and so breaks into Schism: For Instance, in 1586 a considerable Member of that Sect bought a House, some Rigorists suspected some Fraud in the Purchase Disputes arose, and in a short time three Parties were formed, the *Purchasers*, the *Anti-Purchasers*, who would not communicate one with the other, and the *Neutrals*, who, though they did not approve of the Purchase, yet did not think it a sufficient Cause for a Separation. Such were the Beginnings of this Sect, which at this Time is so well settled, and makes so great a Figure in the United Provinces, by its extensive Commerce and great Riches. They are taxed with cunning and subtil Fetches in Trade, with using Equivocations, Distinctions, and Restrictions, under an outward Shew of Frankness, and open fair Dealing, in order to deceive those who are not acquainted with them: But we must not be too se-

^c *Waterland* is the lowest Part of *Holland*.

^d *Hist. Anabapt.* p. 223.

^e The chief Dispute ran on this Point, Whether two Persons of different Religions, being married, ought not to separate, and marry again in their own Persuasion. Some *Anabaptist* Teachers were too severe; the Synod of *Wismar* ordered the Husbands to leave their Wives, and Wives their Husbands, when under Sentence of Excommunication: Another Synod condemned that excessive Severity. *Menno* favoured the mildest Courses, and was against Divorce; but for fear of Excommunication, sided at last with the rigid *Anabaptists*.

^f *Hist. Anabapt.* p. 230.

vere. The least that can be said in their Favour is, that they are zealous for Religion, without neglecting their temporal Concerns: Under the Appearance of Gospel-Modesty, which is the true Characteristick of the *Mennonites*, they enjoy, without Noise, the Pleasures of this Life, which, for fear of giving Scandal, they ingeniously refine, so as to reconcile them with Religion.

A Loan of Money, with which in 1572 they helped *William* the First, Prince of *Orange*, obtained for them some Beginnings of a Toleration: This went on slowly, for it could not be expected, that a Sect, sprung from those *Fanaticks* who had committed such Disorders, should on a sudden cease to be odious to the Government; some Towns and Provinces, as *Middleburgh* and *Zealand*, refused to give them any Toleration. The Synods complained, and were soon back'd by the secular Power, in order to stop the Increase of the *Mennonites*, who, as early as in the Year 1537, held numerous Assemblies, and employed, without much Privacy, several Houses, to serve them for their Meetings and religious Worship. A Law enacted in 1581, against Sectaries, brought upon them some Prosecutions; but at the last *Mennonism* has overcome the Oppositions and Hatred of the Magistrates and Synods; though these last have often endeavoured to get the *Mennonites* condemned and punished¹ as Deserters from the true Church.

Notwithstanding all the Opposition which they met with from the reformed Churches, and from the Magistrates of *Holland*, till the Middle of the last Century and longer, their intestine Broils and Divisions went on, as we shall prove by two or three Instances: A Synod was convened at *Dordrecht* in 1632, to endeavour at a Reunion,² and some Articles were agreed on, and signed by 151 *Mennonites*; but within a few Years new *Schismaticks* sprung up in *Menno's* Sect. One *Weko Walles* maintained in an Assembly held in 1637, that *Judas*, and all those who had a Hand in putting *Christ* to Death, were saved, because they had fulfilled the Decree of Providence; that likewise all the Sinners who are punished in this World, according to the Laws, for their Crimes, are saved by the Grace of our Lord. This *Weko Walles* had some Followers, but they were forbid holding any Assemblies, and he himself was banished from the Province of *Groningen*, where he had begun to form his Sect; he retired into *Friesland*, but was also obliged to fly from thence, after having been condemned in a reformed Synod, held in 1644, at *Franequer*.

Another *Mennonite* named *Outreman*, in 1605, had taught that there are three *Essences* in the Godhead; and that the *Essence* of the Father was so confined to Heaven, that it could never exceed those Bounds.

At present *Mennonism* is divided in *Holland*, into two great Parties; which comprehend all the Brethren. The *Waterlanders*, and the *Flemish* (*Vlaminghen*) This Branch includes the *Mennonites* of *Friesland* and *Germany*, who in Reality are a Spawn of the old *Anabaptists*, but more moderate than their Predecessors of *Germany* and *Switzerland*: There are many Socinians amongst them; and they are still accused of being inclined to Disputes, and subtil Evasions, which often occasion Quarrels and Divisions amongst them. In the Year 1664,³ the Government thought fit to interpose and exert its Authority, by forbidding them to dispute about the Divi-

¹ See *Lock's Miscellanies*, tom. 2. letter. 16. in what Manner a Synod of the Province of *Overyssel* prosecuted a *Mennonite*-Minister, upon Account of a small Book which he had published, to re-unite all Christian Communion. Such an Attempt to be sure was looked upon as a damnable Heresy; to which he added still a more unpardonable Fault, by speaking too freely of, and turning into Ridicule, the pretended *Orthodox* Pastors of that Province.

² See the *Hist. of Anabapt.* p. 269.

³ See *Comelin* in his *Description of Amsterdam*, Vol. 2. p. 493. folio Edit. 1726.



ANABAPTISTE D'AMSTERDAM.



QUAQUER D'AMSTERDAM.



L. F. de Bruijn del.

QUAQUERESSE qui preche.



D. Bismarck, fecit.

*ANABAPTISTE.
de Ost frise*

nity of *Christ*, &c. They are also called *Galenites* from *Galenus* a Physician, and a famous *Predicant* of that Sect, in which these two Functions are often performed by one and the same Person. Besides the above-mentioned Branches of *Mennonism*, several small Assemblies of those Sectaries meet at *Amsterdam*, and differ from each other in some Points of small Importance. They are not much known or taken Notice of, because they are held without Noise or any great Shew, in Houses belonging to particular private *Mennonites* ^m.

Tha Disputes of the *Galenites*, amongst themselves, concerning the Divinity of *Christ*, in 1664, brought on a new Assembly of *Mennonites*, which, at breaking up, entered a Protest against the *Socinian Opinions*: And from that Time, these have continued their Meetings in a particular Church by themselves.

The chief Articles of the Belief of one Branch of the *Mennonites* are widely different ⁿ from what some Writers charge them with, as will evidently appear from the following Extract. In the 2d and 3d Article of their Profession of Faith, they own the Mystery of the Trinity: The 4th rejects Original Sin: The 5th and 7th maintain Liberty in Man, and his freely and voluntarily chusing Good or Evil, &c. The 8th wholly rectifies and amends the erroneous Opinion of the ancient *Anabaptists*, concerning the Incarnation of the eternal Word. The 19th is couched in mystical Expressions, according to the Genius and natural Bent of that Sect; but it may be reduced, only to establish the Necessity of knowing *Christ* spiritually: The same may be said of the 22d, in which they admit the Necessity of the Regeneration of Man. The 25th and 26th acknowledge, that the Christian Church must have Pastors and Teachers (not Lay-Men) expressly consecrated (or appointed) for the Instruction of the Faithful: By the 27th they are to be chosen by Ministers and other Members of the Church joined to them; after imploring the Help of God, and calling upon his holy Name. By the 28th the *Elders* of the *Mennonite* Church approve the Election of these new Pastors. The 29th declares that the New Testament is the true Rule of Faith, and contains whatever is necessary for Salvation; adding to it whatever is in the Old Testament conformable to the Doctrine delivered in the New. The 30th own two Sacraments. The 31st says, that Children (Infants) are not fit for receiving Baptism. The 36th ^o is expressly against the married Faithful being divorced from the Unbeliever with whom the Marriage was contracted. The 37th acknowledges, that Obedience is due to the temporal Power, even Respect, &c. but this Article at the same time says, that it is not lawful for any of their Sect to be invested with that Power, or to go to War, or to kill an Enemy, &c. The 38th forbids Swearing. The 39th teaches that Marriages are indissoluble, except in the Case of Adultery; but they deem it a grievous Sin to contract Marriage with an Infidel.

THEIR Profession of Faith contains forty Articles, at the end of which the Historian who relates them repeats a second time, that they are quite contrary to the Doctrine of the Fanatical *Anabaptists*.

GALENUS, in his *Apology* for his Sect of *Mennonites*, recites 103 Articles of their Opinions; which are chiefly upon mutual Toleration and Christian Charity; He teaches that Scripture (particularly the New Testament) is sufficient to Salvation:

^m One of those Assemblies is nick-named *the Clapsi*, because the Members of it will not use Pins, and the Women dress themselves and fit their Cloaths to their Shape with *Clasps* or *Hooks*. The four Figures here annexed, represent the usual Dress of the *Anabaptists*, and the Posture of a *Female Quaker* preaching.

ⁿ See *Schyn*. Chapt. vii. of his *Hist. Mennon.*

^o *Ut Maritum non sejungantur, nec in operibus maritalibus se subdant, &c.*

and that Man is endowed with Free-will. The 25th is against Original Sin. The 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st, deliver their Belief concerning the Divinity of Christ in the following manner :

“ WE believe and profess that Jesus, born of the Virgin *Mary*, bred at *Nazareth*,
 “ and crucified..... is truly *the Messiah, the Son of God, who was to come into the*
 “ *World*, in whom the Patriarchs hoped with Joy; whom they expected and earnestly
 “ desired; who was represented by many Figures in the old Law, and foretold by
 “ the Prophets long before his coming.

“ WE think this Profession is sufficient as to the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 “ and that it is not necessary for Salvation to make any further Inquiries as to his
 “ Pre-existence, his becoming Man, the Union of what is called the two Natures,
 “ divine and human, and other Points so hotly contested amongst Christians; since
 “ Christ himself.... and his Apostles.... were satisfied with this plain Confession.

“ BUT to explain our Thoughts further on that Subject: tho’ we are fully con-
 “ vinced that the foregoing Confession, with true Obedience, suffices for Salvation;
 “ yet we believe that the Son of God, whom St. *John* calls the *Word* or Speech,
 “ did not begin to exist when born of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*: But that being the
 “ *Splendor of the Glory of God* his Father, and the *imprinted Image of his Person*, he
 “ has been in God his heavenly Father before the World, this visible World was
 “ made.....

“ We acknowledge likewise and profess, that Jesus Christ our Lord, the Son of
 “ the living God, has been given unto us..... as our great Prophet, as our chief
 “ and eternal sacrificing Priest, and as our Heavenly King.” The 34th Article
 teaches, that Christ alone is to be heard, being our only Lawgiver, and that no Sub-
 mission is due to Councils, Synods, or any Ecclesiastical Assembly. The 35th says,
 that true Christianity, and the whole Doctrine of Christ, is contained in short in
 the 5th, 6th, and 7th Chapters of St. *Matthew*, and in the 6th of St. *Luke*. These
 Chapters are an Abstract of the Morality of Christ, and the Faith which is due to
 the Precepts of Christ, who has no other Dignity bestowed upon him in this Abridg-
 ment of *Mennoism*, except that of the great Prophet. The 36th and 37th are only
 a Confirmation of the 35th, enforcing the Necessity of a Holy Life, and conformable
 to this Morality. The 38th is against Swearing. The 39th against Revenge of
 any Kind, against War, &c. The 40th and 41st approve and order Obedience to
 be paid to Princes and Magistrates, but declares that the safest is *not to accept of any*
Political Office. The 42d is an Abstract of *Erasmus’s* Rules concerning a Christian
 Life; which, after the Example of that great Man, is brought to such a Simplicity,
 which makes the Faithful true Followers of Christ, and Observers of his divine
 Precepts: But the *Mennonites*, like most Christians, admire those Laws only in
 Theory. The 43d and following, to the 47th, repeat and enforce what had been
 said before of the Morality of the Gospel. The 52d and 53d are about Baptism,
 forbid its being administered to Infants: Those which follow are concerning Com-
 munion. The 57th speaks of *Washing of the Feet, which Ceremony some Christians*,
meaning the Mennonites, have added to the other two Baptism and Communion. “ We
 “ believe, says the Author, that this Custom relates to the mutual Duties of Humi-
 “ lity and good Offices which Christians owe one to the other, rather than to become
 “ a Church Ceremony.” The Articles 59, 60, 61, 62, explain the Distinction be-
 tween the visible and invisible Church; that is, the Faithful dispersed, *in what Part*
soever of the World, and under what Denomination soever they may appear to Men,

and yet remain unknown. The 63d teaches, that no Church whatever *is to be deemed the true visible Church of Christ, so as to exclude others, and that the Work of Reformation cannot be looked upon as infallible, or undertaken or performed by the Authority of God, and of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* The 64th declares, *That the Rulers, Ministers, and Deacons of Brotherly Meetings are not to be considered, as if they had any divine Right or special Authority above the rest of the Brethren..... and that they are not to be hearkned to as if they were the infallible Ambassadors of Christ, nor obeyed as if God always spoke to and exhorted the Faithful by them: This Office, says the same Author, has been given only to the Apostles.....* from whence he draws this Conclusion in the 65th Article, *That Excommunication (or to use his own Words, The Power of giving the Rebellious to Satan, &c.) " did belong heretofore to the " Apostles, but that now it is of no Use in divided Christian Societies.... and it " is not lawful to go beyond Remonstrances, and fraternal Exhortations..... which " if they are not followed by the Conversion of the Brother or Sister corrupted in " their Faith or Morals, they ought to be told from the whole Assembly, that Com- " munion and Christian Brotherhood cannot be kept with them, and that a Se- " paration becomes necessary till they are intirely converted..... They ought even " to be shunned as to any spiritual Conversation in order to shame them..... But " this must be done discreetly, and in a Manner not contrary to Christian Charity."*

THE Articles 66th and following to the 78th, are about Christ; he is owned to be a true Saviour, *a Heavenly Sacrificer and Mediator*, who has offered himself as a Victim for our Sins, &c. who died for all Men, and who, besides the Dignity of *Prophet and High Priest*, with which he is invested, is likewise possessed of Regal Power, that is of *the Divine Power which has been given him by his Father*. The said Articles treat likewise of Justification.

THE 79th, 80th, 81st and 82d, treat of the Distinction betwixt good and bad Angels; and they do not swerve in that Point from the common Notions, *viz.* " that those Spirits..... are sent and made to serve the Faithful..... that the " Scripture makes mention of them under various Denominations and Degrees of " Dignity..... that the bad Angels, Devils, or spiritual Powers of Wickedness " dwell in the Air..... Christ is the chief Lord and Master of both; for, say " they, as if Scripture Words were always to be understood literally, God has " given to Christ a Sovereign Power over Mankind; the Father judges none *at pre- " sent*....., but has given all Judgment to the Son." If an *Indian*, whose Words we are apt to take literally, thought fit to explain our Sayings in the same Sense, he certainly would imagine, that we spake of a King, who having set his own Son upon the Throne, lets him govern as he pleases, without intermeddling in any Affair.

THE 83d to the 90th, treats of the sending of the Holy Ghost into Men; and of his Operations on the Faithful: Those Graces are divided into *glorious Gifts*, such as the Holy Ghost had granted to the Apostles on the Day of Pentecost, and into *Gifts of Sanctification*, which are the common and universal Operations of Grace. Several other Graces are mentioned betwixt these two, *which are communicated after a perfect renouncing ourselves, and are next in order to the glorious Gifts*. The Description of these Gifts is somewhat obscure and mystical. We shall set it down in the Author's Words: " They consist, says he, in the sensible Experience of a ravishing " Love, of a sweet overflowing of Joy, of a profound Peace, of an inward quiet " Repose; that is, which resides in the Heart or Mind of Man; and this Grace

“ is called *sensible* with good Reason, not being given properly in this Life to any
 “ but the particular Friends of God, and being wholly hid to the Eyes of the
 “ World. . . . it is chiefly bestowed on those who have entirely renounced themselves,
 “ and still oftner when they suffer for Justice's sake. . . .^p Had he only said plainly,
 that the Holy Ghost acts with so much Strength on the Hearts of the Faithful, that
 he weans him from all worldly Affections; from whence it follows, that his only
 Employment is to love God; that being thus loosened from the World, and wholly
 resigned to the Will of God, the Faithful became perfectly easy and quiet, rejoiced in
 the Practice of Virtue, and underwent with Cheerfulness the most severe Trials in the
 World, he might have been understood; but such a Style would not have suited
 the sublime Notions of Bigots, who delight in dark and extraordinary Expressions
 like spiritual Quacks, whose only Aim is to puzzle and cheat the Ignorant,

THE Articles 91st to the 97th speak of divine Providence, and of the Reign of
 Christ, who preserves the Faithful from the Power and alluring Charms of the
 World; gives them Strength to withstand all the Endeavours of Men, to bear their
 Persecutions, and overcome their own Passions; Christ, says this *Mennonite* Writer,
 delivers his spiritual Subjects from Satan and other evil Spirits, &c.

THE 98th and 99th Articles are about both the just Men and the wicked, their
 rising from Death to Life: the 100th about the last Judgment: the 101st speaks of
 various Degrees of Punishments, but does not mention any Difference in the Re-
 wards; the two last contain further Proofs of the Doctrine of Life everlasting, and
 of the compleat Happiness enjoyed by those who have lived upon Earth in a State of
 Shame and Contempt upon account of their Love for Religion and Virtue.

HAVING given an Abstract of these Professions of Faith, we must further in-
 form our Readers, that in 1710^q the *Anabaptists* or *Mennonites* of the Canton of
Bern in *Switzerland*, gave to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* a Declaration, in which
 “ 1. They own that the civil and temporal Power of the Magistrates, &c. is settled
 “ and ordained by God, and add that Subjects must pray for them, obey them, and
 “ pay what is due to them, &c.

“ 2. That it was not lawful for them to swear or take any Oaths, but only, ac-
 “ cording to the Letter of the Gospel Precept, to answer *Yea* and *Nay*, by which
 “ Words they thought themselves as strictly bound as by the most solemn Oath.

“ 3. THAT they were willing ‘ to pay to the Magistrates for their Protection, what-
 “ ever Sum or Sums they should be able to pay, according to their Abilities, and to
 “ supply their not being able to go to War (which their Religion forbid) they should
 “ be ready to build Fortifications, &c. whenever Necessity required it.” They de-
 sired that the foregoing Declaration might be registered; and as they do not men-
 tion any Article of Faith, we are well grounded in believing that they did not
 differ from the Opinions of the other *Mennonite Brethren*.

THE *German Anabaptists* of *Alsatia*, in 1660, subscribed, with great Solemnity,
 to the Profession of Faith drawn up in 1632 at *Dordrecht* by the Brethren of *Flanders*
 (*Flaminghen*). The *Mennonites* of *Prussia*^r agree likewise with those of *Holland*
 within a few trifling Particulars. Their Profession of Faith contains eighteen Ar-

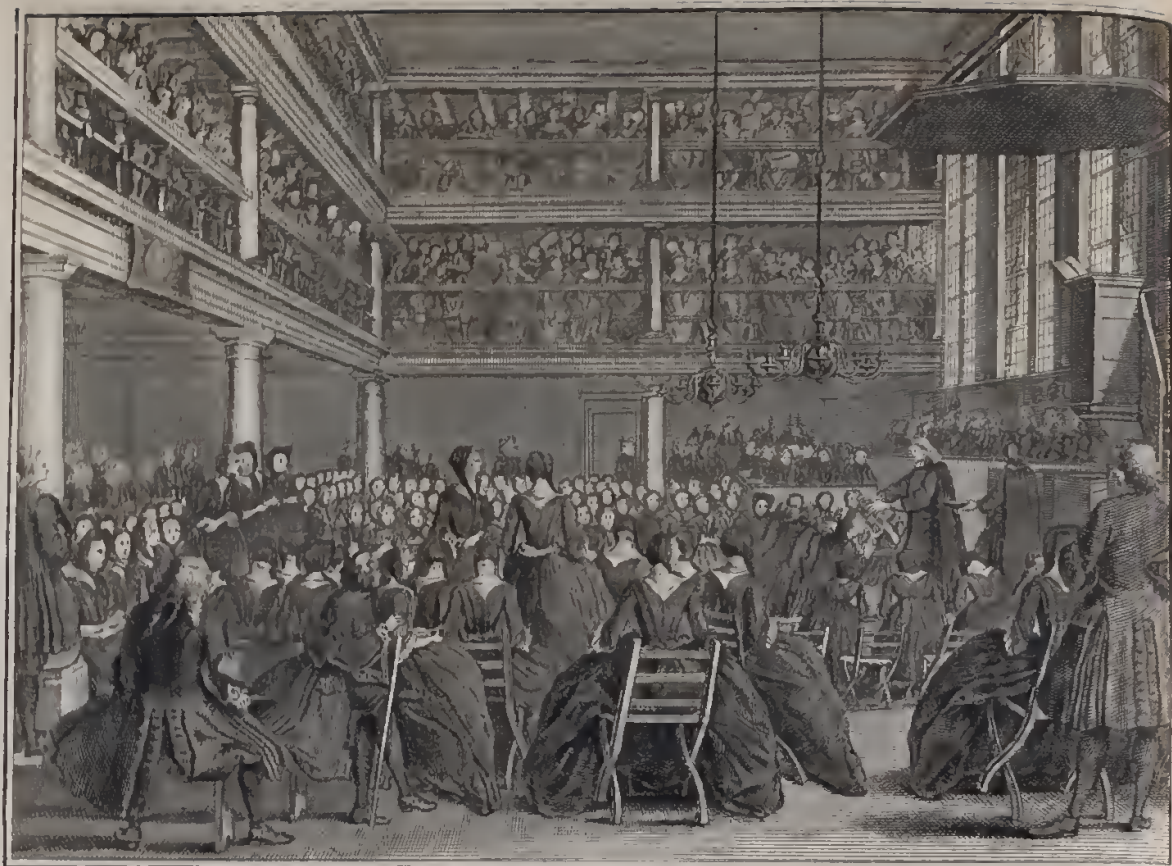
^p See in *Pere Simon* (*St. Jore*) tome II. ch. 20. of his *Biblioth. Critic.* above, a Prayer drawn up by
 Cardinal *Berulle*, worded in much the same Style.

^q *Hist. Mennon.* p. 278 and following.

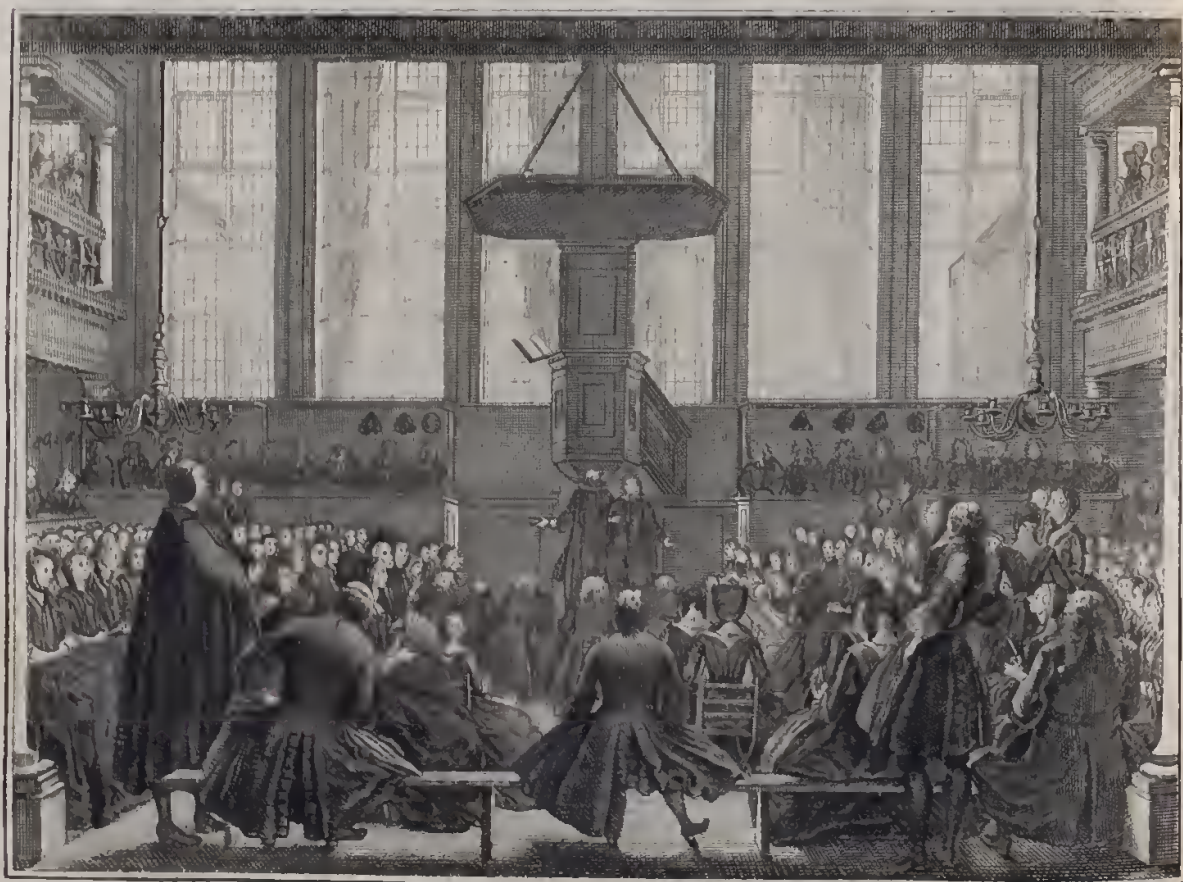
^r *Quod parati sunt ad tribuendam pecuniam . . . pro protectione . . . & loco armorum usus quantum possunt
 extruere fortificationes.*

^s In the Title of their Confession, p. 281. *Hist. Mennon.* they are named *Claricks*, *Clarisi*.





Le BAPTEME des MENNONITES.



La BENEDICTION qui suit le BAPTEME.

ticles, the most remarkable of which are the 2d, owning Christ to be the Son of God, and himself God: and in the 4th they declare, that they acknowledge *only one eternal God, not three Gods*; one Godhead, or as the *Latin Word* is, one *Deity*. The 9th establishes the spiritual Eating, the Body and Blood of Christ¹. The 10th approves the Washing of the Feet, so far that those *Mennonites* of *Prussia* seem to place it in the same Rank as the Sacraments (Baptism and Communion) maintaining that this Ceremony in which² the Greater humbles himself towards the Lesser is grounded on the Example of Christ, and is helpful to the Faithful, in order to obtain Life everlasting. This Custom is chiefly kept up towards those who are sent as Deputies for Ecclesiastical Affairs: When such a one comes into the House of a Brother, first he receives *the Holy Kiss*, or *Kiss of Peace*, then his Feet are washed in a Spirit of Charity and Humility: By the 12th Article Sinners and Hereticks are to be excommunicated; for, say they, such Criminals ought to be punished³ and thrust out, *in the Strength and Power of the Word of God*, as being self-judged and self-condemned by their evil Works: To this the 13th Article adds, that according to the Precept of Christ, we must separate ourselves from a *Perverse Brother*, neither eat nor drink with him, nor keep him Company, nor receive him into our House, nor give him the Holy Kiss, or bow to him; out of a holy Intention and Desire to excite him to a saving Repentance; which such a Reprobation and Separation from all civil Society is, they think, most likely to bring him to. Such a severe Excommunication may produce exterior Regularity, and an appearing Conversion: but at the same time it is calculated to make Hypocrites rather than true Faithful. The Articles about civil Power, Swearing, Infant-Baptism, and the last Judgment, are conformable to the Tenets of other *Mennonites*.

THE *Hamburgers* of that Sect use the same Profession of Faith, as those who several Years since separated themselves from the *Flemish⁴ Mennonites*. We shall now conclude this short Dissertation by introducing an Account of their Religious Customs and Ceremonies in the Administration of Baptism and the Eucharist⁵. Baptism is given after the Sermon: those who are to receive it go to the Minister⁶ (or Doctor) who comes down from the Pulpit to perform that Function. He asks them whether they are willing to be baptised; they answer by an Inclination, or bending their Body, which is looked upon as equivalent to their saying *Yes*. They kneel, and the Minister in the same Posture likewise says his Prayers; which being ended, the Reader, or Chanter of the Assembly, comes with a Basin full of Water, and follows the Minister, who goes to each of the *Neophytes* still kneeling; and pouring some Water on the Head of each of them says, *N. N. I baptize you with Water, May our Lord Jesus Christ baptize you with (or by) his Spirit*: When they have been all baptised, the same Minister raises them one by one, and having in a Christian manner made them a Compliment on their being admitted into the Society of the Faithful, gives them⁷ the Kiss of Peace.

¹ The *Latin Word* is literally, *partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ*.

² *Lavationem pedum exemplo & Doctrina sua Christum apprehasse ajunt, quo maximus minimo... ob-viam ireteneatur, idque propterea ut obtineat eternam salutem, ad quam hanc lotionem maxime necessariam putarunt, imo fere instar sacramenti habent, &c.*

³ *Protervos proceres & carnales peccatores, imo Hæreticos vi Verbi Divini puniendos ac expellendos judicant, &c... ad Mandatum Christi necesse est ut subducamus nos ab omni fratre qui inordinate ambulat, nec cum eo comedamus aut bibamus, &c.*

⁴ See above.

⁵ The Prints, set in this Place, represent those Ceremonies.

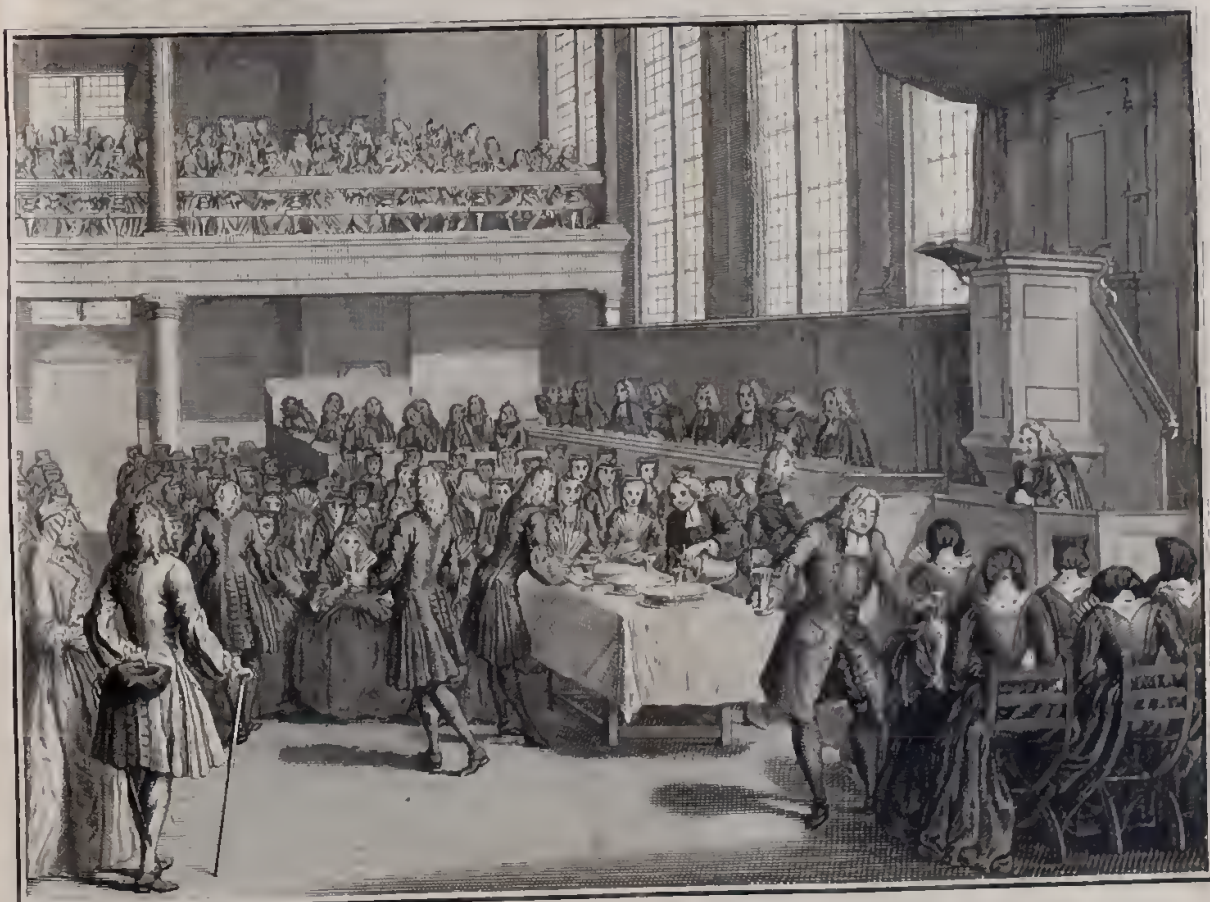
⁶ The *Dutch Word* signifies literally a Doctor or Master.

⁷ This Ceremony is now laid aside, because the Strangers, whom Curiosity brought to see the Baptism of the *Mennonites*, either turned it into Ridicule, or contemned, and were even scandalised at it.

THE Communion is likewise administer'd after the Sermon : The Minister takes out of three Baskets, which are upon the Communion-Table, some Bread, which he breaks, and gives first to his Collegues, saying these Words, *Do this in Memory of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Then two other Ministers joined themselves with him, and all three followed by three Deacons, each of whom holds a Basket, go through all the Ranks to give the Communion to every Faithful present ; after which, the Minister who has preached that Day goes alone to the Communion-Table, the other two Ministers and the three Deacons retiring. The Minister standing before the Table enquires aloud if every one has received the Communion-Bread ; if any Faithful has not, he rises up and makes a Sign, and the Minister comes back and gives it to him : No Body eats the Bread when they receive it, but all stay till the Minister is gone back to the Table ; where, after a short Prayer, he eats it, and invites the Assembly to partake with him of the Communion, which they perform ; but till that Moment they either hold the Bread in their Hands, or fold it up in a Handkerchief, or put it in their Pockets. The Wine is distributed to the same Faithful after it has been blessed or consecrated by the Minister, who first receives it with his Collegues, then the Deacons carry it about to every one in the Assembly. Like all other Protestants, they end this act of Religion by a Prayer, and singing a Psalm.



La CENE des ANABAPTISTES premiere figure.



La CENE des ANABAPTISTES seconde figure



A DISSERTATION

On the ADAMITES.

THE Existence of *Adamites* is not to be questioned: Such Men have been in former Ages, and some are still in Being. If by the Word *Adamites* we mean People, who, out of a Principle of Religion, or to do Penance, have cast off their Cloaths, and gone naked without any Fear of offending either their own Modesty, or that of others; *Paganism*, both antient and modern, and even *Christianity*, furnish us with several Examples of a religious Nakedness. The *Romans* had their *Lupercalia* or Feasts in Honour of *Pan*, in which Solemnities they went about the Streets stark naked. *Augustus* put some Stop to this Disorder, and in his Time, those Devotees were obliged to wear Breeches or Drawers: The same Nakedness was practised amongst the *Greeks*, both in some of their Festivals, and in the *Olympick Games*; in which, according ^a to a *Greek Epigram*, a *Lacedemonian* was the first who took it into his Head to fight naked, and to be crowned in that Condition. As to the modern *Heathenism*, the *Faquirs* and *Indian Penitents* live naked and exposed to the Inclemency of the Air, or burning Heat of the Sun, from a Motive of Penance and Austerity. Even amongst Christians, several *Anchorets* and *Monks of Palestine* have done the same: 'Tis even related, that, to shew how far they had mastered the most unruly of all human Passions, they went with Women into the publick Baths ^b: Sure both were equally chaste, or paid but little Regard to the Judgments of the World, if they could thus expose themselves, and brave the Temptation, without any dangerous Consequences.

If by *Adamites* we mean professed Votaries to carnal Pleasures; a Set of People, who, instead of endeavouring to overcome their Passions, use on the contrary all the Means and most refined Methods to raise and keep them up; amongst which this Nakedness is reckoned, as may be seen in *Propertius* ^c and his Commentators: Even in this Case (so widely different from the pretended Insensibility of the *Stoicks*, or the *Monks of Palestine*) 'tis to be feared, no one can say that there have not been, are not, or will never be such *Adamites*. But those of whom we now give an Account, are supposed to have heretofore formed a Sect, often renewed under various Denominations: They act upon Principle, and pretend to give some Reasons to justify this Practice; they even draw their Reasons from the Christian Revelation: Though true Christians have always deservedly looked upon them as fanatic and dangerous Notions. This is all that can be alledged in Vindication of what *Bayle* ^d has said, to shew why Christians were, as he pretends, oftner guilty of that Absurdity of going naked: "Because, says he, the *Pagans* were entirely ignorant of a Truth, which may have been abused by Christians under the Gospel-Dispensation: To wit, that *Christ*, the second *Adam*, came to repair the Evil which

^a See a Citation in *Cælius Rhodig* lib. 13. *Leñ. Antiq.*

^b This is an unlikely Story, but an Over-Credulity is to be met with in all Ages. The Dissertation on the antient *Adamites*, tom. xxi. of *Biblioth. German.* furnishes us with many Examples of it.

^c See *Propert.* Eleg. xii. of the second Book: See likewise his Commentator *Bræckhusius*, who cites several antient Poets, and two Verses of the Emperor *Gallienus*.

^d In the Article *Turlupins*. Mr. de *Beaufobre*, in his Dissertation on the same Subject, attacks *Bayle* very warmly: But he does not set his Proofs in the strongest Light; and certainly all those who have wrote in Favour of the *Adamites* alledge the same Reasons which *Bayle* does: However this did not suit with *Braufabre's* Aim, which was to prove that *Adamism* is a down right fabulous Invention.

" the first *Adam* had brought into the World: From this Principle (says *Bayle*)
 " some Fanatic has drawn this Conclusion, that whoever is Partaker of the Law
 " of Grace, is perfectly reinstated in the Innocency of *Adam* and *Eve*, &c."

'Tis highly improbable, and next to an Impossibility, that any Sect should have been really made up of *Adamites*: But we cannot deny that some Sectaries may have been so foolish, as to understand in a wrong Sense, the Regeneration of Man by the Law of Grace, and the Reparation of the bodily Sensations in the Regenerate: Such a Denial could only be the Consequence of a rash mistrusting all antient and modern Authors, who have mentioned this Sort of Fanaticks. However, the most remarkable Particulars related of them are as follow.

Some *Adamites*, or *Adamians* pretended to imitate the State of Innocency and Nakedness of our first Parents, and to live as chastly as they did in Paradise. *Prodicus*, who lived in the Beginning of the second Age, is supposed to be the Founder of that Sect, of which the Antients have transmitted to us various Accounts. Some tell us, that in order to perform their Devotions they put off all their Cloaths in the Room where they held their Assembly; then placed themselves indifferently, without any Distinction of Age, Sex, Quality, Ecclesiasticks and Laity, Men and Women, Boys and Girls: Yet without committing any immodest Actions; that in that State of pretended Innocency, they were so much Masters of their Passions, as to be no more moved, than at the Sight of so many Marble-Statues: That if any of those *Adamites* committed any Fault, or gave Way to sensual Pleasures he was turned out of the Assembly, as having eaten, or attempted to eat the forbidden Fruit. That, in a Word, they were so averse from Incontinency, that they even abstained from Matrimony, as from a Crime; the Allurements of which had cost *Adam* and *Eve* the Loss of their Innocency, and never would have tasted, had it not been brought about by the wily Craftiness and Sollicitations of the Devil. This Notion, which the *Adamites* entertained about Marriage, makes it not unlikely, that they looked upon the History of *Adam's* Temptation, as an Allegory, by which *Moses* has concealed the Shame of the first Sin, and of its fatal Consequences*. If we examine narrowly the State of Man, before and after the great Revolution which Nature produces at a certain Age, it might probably be lawful to determine, which is the forbidden Tree mentioned by *Moses*: But Silence is much preferable to such insignificant and useless Inquiries and Guessest.

Some others amongst the Ancients, either less charitable towards these Fanaticks, or being determined by stronger Motives to find them guilty, accused the *Adamites* of actually committing the most shameful Abominations, of eating carnally without any Sense of Modesty, the forbidden Fruit, and with a cynical Impudence. They are moreover reproached, with maintaining that the four Elements were God; con-

* We have an Account of some *Abelians*, or *Abelites* in the Diocese of *St. Augustin* in *Africa*, who though married, and approving Matrimony, yet were continent, and only adopted the Children of others: what Folly will not Men commit! To be sure it was no small Trial to withstand Temptations, and yet live in the immediate Occasion of yielding to them. Some Ages of Christianity furnish us with several Examples of People who were married, and agreed to remain in the State of Virginity. As to the *Abelites*, their Practice was grounded on a Jewish Fable; that after the Murder of *Abel*, *Adam* lived one Hundred and thirty Years with *Eve*, without cohabiting with her. From whence they were called *Abelites*.

† *Beverland* has wrote a Dissertation in elegant Latin, intitled *Pectatum Originale*, &c. He has been since copied by a *Frenchman*, who published in that Language a small Treatise, under the Name of *The State of Man, in Original Sin*; in which he is so wicked, as to make an Apology even for the Devil. We must not omit here the foolish Conceit of *Antoinette Bourignon*, " Men, says she, think they were created as they now are but Sin has destroyed the Work of God . . . They are become Monsters . . . unable to produce, by themselves, others like them, as Trees and Plants do . . . God created the Woman, by taking from *Adam* that inward Part which contained the Eggs, from which Men spring, and with which *Adam*, by himself, might have had Children . . .". See more of this Subject in the Dissertation on the *Pietists*.





ASSEMBLEES nocturnes des ADAMITES



ADAMITES d'AMSTERDAM

denying Prayer; denying the Necessity of owning the Belief of *Christ*. Yet some Fathers assure us, in express Terms, that the *Adamites* ^a prayed: But we must leave these ancient *Adamites*, and give an Account of those of a later Date. *Tandeme*, or *Tancbelm*, an Heretick of the twelfth Century, is one of those who are charged with renewing the cynical Opinions of the antient *Adamites*. But, after all, this amounted to no more, than that he, being a profligate Debauchee, and the Ring-leader of a Party, might endeavour to screen his Crimes under some religious Pretence: There are some in all Religions who act as if Lewdness was the first Article of their Belief. *Tandeme* carried with him several Women; he was guilty of committing with them an infinite Number of Crimes; But, as *Bayle* observes ^b, neither he, nor the ancient *Adamites* obliged their Disciples to go about stark naked: Whereas, the modern *Adamites* were not to wear any Cloaths, but out of a religious Principle, appeared, in the open Streets, in the plain State of Nature. In that Condition the *Adamites* shewed themselves amongst the *Anabaptists* of the Low Countries, about the Middle of the sixteenth Age^c.

Then, and not before, did this Sect begin: *Bayle* gives an Account of them, their Founder's Name was ^k *Picard*: They *increased and multiplied* as others do, but without any formal Marriage; and were so much at Liberty in that Particular, that it was allowed them to change the Object, as often as their Desires or Inclinations prompted them. No other Ceremony was required, but to bring to their Chief the Woman whom they coveted, saying these Words, *My Spirit is heated for this Woman*, to which he answered, *Go, increase and multiply*. Those Fanaticks called all other Men Slaves; and it would not be easily guessed, in what Sense they used that Expression, if some of their Women, being taken Prisoners, had not boldly declared, that *Breeches took from Men their Liberty*. Some Women may think so to this Day; and like the grand Maxim of the Art of War, *that true Warriors ought always to be ready*. But we must not joke at the Expence of those poor Wretches, who braved Death with Joy and Constancy; for such Actions, in which Madness, Seduction, and wrong Consequences, drawn from religious Principles, might have a greater Share than lewd Inclinations.

The Author of the ^l *Dissertation on the Adamites of Bohemia*, seems to call in question, what we have said of the Women of that Sect; and brings plausible Reasons to support his Opinion; but we cannot enter into his Sentiments, that such Madness is not possible. There have been many such in the World, highly extoll'd as heroick Acts of Religion: Do not we read, in ancient History, that the Heathen Priests persuaded some Men, that if they ran head-long into Precipices and certain Destruction, it would save their Country? The Custom of some *Indian* Women, to burn themselves with their Husbands, in the same funeral Pile, is scarce absolutely left off in some Places; yet this inhuman Ceremony had the Sanction of their Priests, who supported it upon extravagant Notions of Virtue and Religion. The Principles in which we are brought up, are often the Occasion of the Difficulty we find, in reconciling some Things with Truth: Study, and knowing the World, make such Impressions on our Minds, as either increase or diminish Incredulity: And as we

^a *Bayle*, in the Article *Adamites*, cites a Passage of *St. Clement of Alexandria*, and another of *St. Augustin*, point blank contradictory one to the other.

^b See *Bayle* in the Article *Picards*.

^c At *Amsterdam*, and in other Places. The Prints here represent them.

^k *Beausobre* says, these are the Words of *Aeneas Sylvius*, are a certain *Picard*, whose Name was *John*.

^l Tom. 4. "Is it probable, says he, that Women in their Senses, and who had Courage enough to undergo the Punishment of being burnt to Death, should be so abandoned, and impudent, as openly to maintain such Opinions? &c."

labour under many Uncertainties, we often judge of Times past, by our own, of what happened before us, by what we daily see, and are apt to censure and reject what is out of our Sphere, and beyond the Reach of our Understanding. Mr. *Beaujobre's* Dissertation on the *Adamites* ^m is full of Erudition and solid Reasoning; but he seems too much bent to turn into Ridicule, and look upon as fabulous, whatever Historians have wrote concerning the *Adamites*; though we are willing to own, at the same Time, that Hatred and Calumny have not been wanting, to amplify the Story. This is but too common in all Ages and Parties: But there is something true in the Main; and all we can allow Mr. *de B...* is, that the Orthodox have given a malicious Turn to the Facts, to render more odious, all those, who either disapproved of the Doctrine received in the Church, or inveighed against the corrupt Lives of the Clergy. No Doubt they were glad to find Fools, Fanaticks and Debauchees, whom they might rank amongst Hereticks, whom they thought it the Interest of the Church that the Orthodox should detest.

The *Flagellants* ⁿ might, with some shew of Reason, be reckoned amongst the *Adamites*. In the publick Processions, in which they whipp'd themselves out of Devotion, ^o the Rule was to have only the Shoulders bare, but some were of Opinion it would be more pleasing to God, and give more Edification, if they were above half naked, when they performed this Exercise. If Fanaticism is to be compared with Fanaticism, the religious Flagellations of the Christians, will not appear much inferior to those amongst the Heathens.

An Author, whom we often cited in the foregoing Dissertation, informs us upon the Credit of a Compiler of Heretical Catalogues, that, in 1581, some *Adamites* were discovered in *Holland*; those who desired to be initiated into this pretended Sect, walked quite naked in the middle of the Assembly, (probably naked likewise) if in that Condition they had no Temptation, or did not outwardly shew any of those evident Signs, without which no one can know such Thoughts, they were admitted into the Society of *Brethren Adamites*. The Words of the Author are cited ^p at the Bottom of this Page; but those who informed him, mistook probably for a religious Sect, some wicked Society of *Profligate Debauchees*; such as have been found in *Holland*, and other Places; and, 'tis to be feared, will subsist to the End of the World.

We shall conclude this short Dissertation, with the Account which *Thevenot* gives us of the *Iouames* ^q. "They are, says he, *Arabian Vagrants*, live like them in "Tents: They have a very remarkable Custom, peculiar to themselves, every "Night they perform their Ceremonies, and say their Prayers in a Tent, without "any Light, then cohabit with the first Person they meet in that dark Place, be it "Father, Mother, Sister or Brother: This is much worse than the Religion of the "*Adamites*: They keep themselves very private, for if they were found out to be "*Iouames*, they would infallibly be burnt."

^m Tom. 4. and 19 of *Biblioth. German.*

ⁿ *Guy*, an Abbot, who lived in the eleventh Century, is said to have invented the voluntary Flagellations which were carried to such Excesses, as are related in the *Hist. of Flagell.* and other Books.

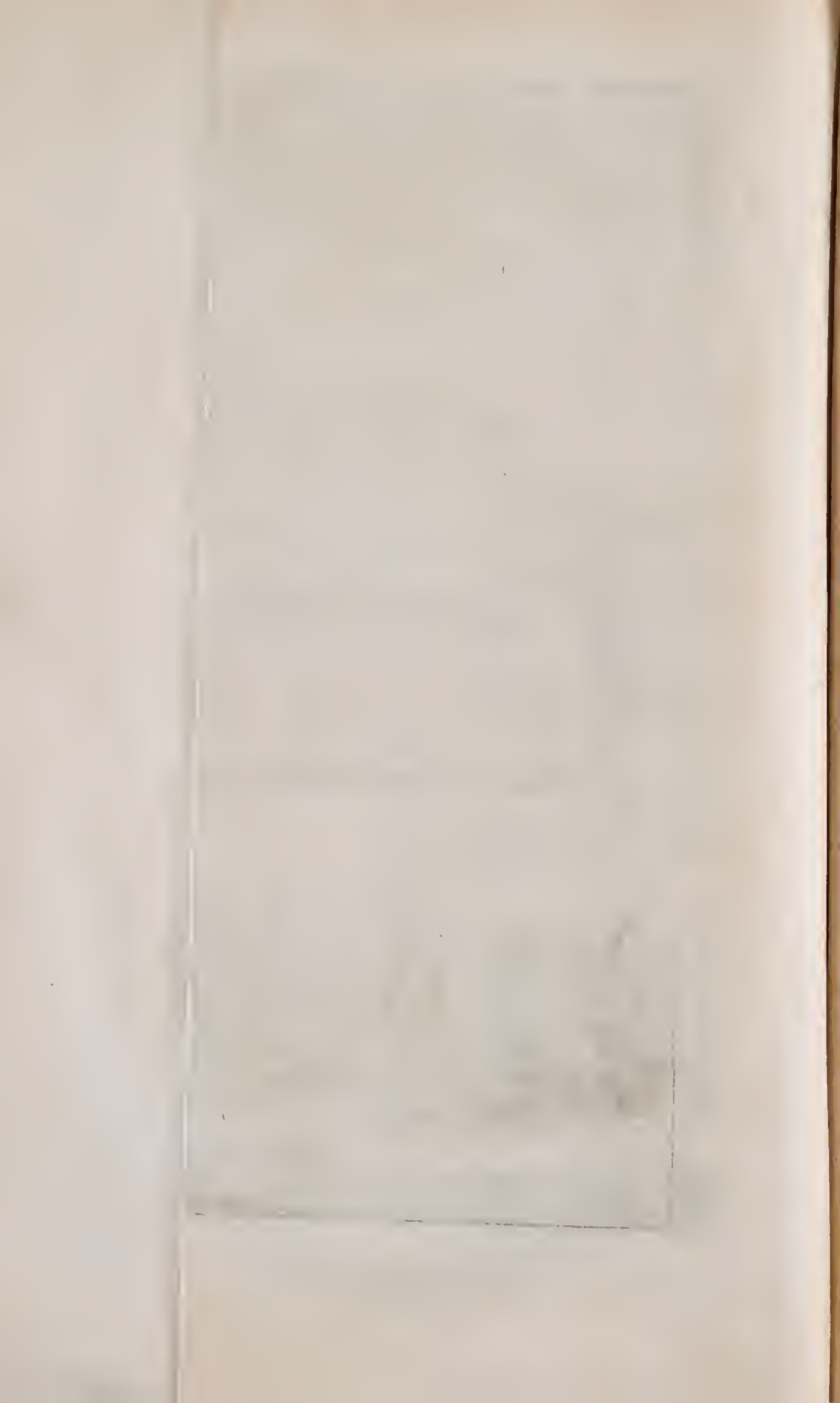
^o The Print in this Place is drawn from an ancient Manuscript of the Abbey of St. Martin, at Tournay.

^p *Ott.* In the Preface of *Annal. Anabapt.* In Belgio, anno 1581. adhuc reperiebantur (*Adamitæ*) recipiendi nudi per horam in Communi casu stambulare debebant, illique qui nullas carnis illecebras sentiebant, recipiebantur. These pretended *Adamites* were probably some Remains of the fanatick *Anabaptists*.

^q *Voyages* Tom. ii. p. 852. of the *Amsterdam* Edition. 1727.



Procession des flagellans



A DISSERTATION

On the PRE-ADAMITES.

ABOUT the Middle of the last Age, an obscure Author endeavour'd to frame a new System concerning the Origin of Mankind, and to prove ^a that some Men had existed before *Adam*. This is so peculiar a Notion, that we are under an Obligation to entertain our Readers with the Particulars of it in this *Dissertation*.

PEYRERIUS found out, in what *St. Paul* says concerning the Imputation of *Adam's Sin*, &c^b. strange and new Difficulties, which had not been thought of in the sixteen Ages of Christianity before him. This induced him to embrace the above-mentioned extraordinary Opinion, that some Men must have had a Being before *Adam*. We shall not enter into all his new Enquiries, only take Notice that he sets out with saying, that the Imputation of Sin began at the Transgression of the Law, not the Law of *Moses*, but a more general one given before to *Adam*, which Transgression has spread Death amongst Men. This Imputation was taken away by *Christ*, who is the *second Adam*. The Apostle says, that Sin *was in the World till the Law* (given to *Adam*.) This is the Origin, and, if it may be so called, the Queen of all other Laws; amongst which some are particular, and prior to that of *Moses*. The Ordinances, Laws and Ceremonies established by that Lawgiver were not the first published in the World. The Jews before him (*Peyrerius* means all the Posterity of *Adam* to *Abraham*, who is looked upon as the true Father of the Jews and Believers, according to the general Opinion) kept the Sabbath, observed the Distinction between the clean and unclean Beasts, abstained from strangled Meat, had some Sacrifices, a regular Worship, which is meant by the Invocation of the Name of God begun by *Enos*; though, says this Author, God was certainly called upon before the Days of that Patriarch; who probably might make some Alteration in the Religious Worship, *Calling upon the Name of God*, signifying literally only *calling upon God by another Name than Adam and Seth had done*, or as he boldly supposes, *changing the Order and Manner of Calling upon God*.

CIRCUMCISION likewise was before *Moses*. The Book of *Genesis* also informs us, that all the Laws of his Decalogue were observed before his Time; and indeed how could Men live in Society without keeping these Laws? Can any one believe (as *Peyrerius* pretends that most Divines do) that they began to be in force only in *Moses's* Time? We might easily answer that they were natural Orders, and of such evident Authority, that it is not possible any Man of a sound Judgment should not be sensible, that abstracting from all other Motives, our own Interest requires they should be observed. But we are not to give Scope to our Reasonings; our present Business is to follow the Thread of this Author's System. All the above-mentioned Particulars being of an older Date than the Laws of *Moses*, we can only attribute to

^a The Title of this Book is *Præadamitæ sive exercitatio super versibus, 12, 13, 14. Capituli quinti Epistolæ Divi Pauli ad Romanos: quibus inducuntur primi homines ante Adamum*. At Amsterdam in 1655, without the Author or Printer's Name.

^b Chap. 5. ver. 12, 13, 14. of *St. Paul's* Epistle to the Romans.

him the Institution of such Ordinances which were to be peculiar to one Nation, one sort of Government, ceremonial Laws prescribing some Customs which the Jews alone were to observe, and which Christ has abrogated. The Imputation of Sin does not fall upon all Mankind; for having disobeyed such antiquated Laws, which tho' of divine Institution, were to be abolished after some Ages. But the Law of *Adam* is not like this, it concerns all Mankind. *Adam* broke that Command, his whole Posterity feels the direful Effects of this Violation, which in the Sight of God is become the universal Crime of which all Men are guilty.

THEFORE, says *Peyrerius*, the State of Man under the Law begins with *Adam*; whence then are we to date the State of Nature? We shall see his Opinion about that shortly. The Divines, to elude the Difficulties which are proposed against the common System, have invented a Propagation of Sin called original Sin, begun by the Disobedience of *Adam*. They did not (as our Author pretends it was their Duty) seek a State of Nature before *Adam*, by which it is proved that Sin was committed before the pretended first Man was created; but not imputed till his Time. Thus the *Pre-adamitical System* solves the Difficulty, says *Peyrerius*, without offending Religion, without giving the Lye to the Scripture, or interrupting the Course of Grace, &c. Men had sinned before *Adam*, without its being imputed, because Sin was not imputed till the Law: We must still keep in Mind that by this Law *Peyrerius* means that given to *Adam*. Moreover, the Distinction of the first *Adam* from the second is made plainer. *Adam* was not the first Man, nor Christ the last. The Satisfaction or Atonement of the Sins of Mankind by the second *Adam* has been imputed to those who lived before him, and it may be said, that the Imputation of the Sin of the first *Adam* has in the same manner affected those who had a Being before him.

SIN and Death, according to this System, were before *Adam*, but^o they did not live and reign over all Mankind; Sin and Death were dead, they had no Sting. This is expressed by *St. Paul* in these Words, "Until the Law Sin was in the World, but Sin is not imputed when there is no Law," and by Consequence Death had no Power over Mankind. But the same Apostle says likewise, "by one Man Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin; and so Death passed upon all Men." These *Præ-Adamites*, these Men who are absolutely unknown to us as well as to the Author, who introduces them upon the Stage, had not sinned in the same Manner as *Adam* did. They had committed a *material Sin*, or (to speak more intelligibly, if we can) a Sin inherent to and inseparable from human Nature, Matter, Flesh and corporal Sensations: *Adam*, on the contrary, had committed a *Formal Sin*; for so *Peyrerius* is pleased to call the Transgression against the Law. But after all, to maintain this extraordinary System, and the most paradoxical ever invented, he is obliged to suppose that before this Law given to *Adam*, Men acted only like^d Beasts.

IN this Case one may easily conceive, that Sin was only *material* in them, and became *formal* afterwards by the Violation of the Law given to *Adam*. The Author goes on and says, that no Man since *Adam* has sinned as *Adam* did; but this Question is not to our present Purpose, and no ways affects the main Point of this *Præ-adamitical System*.

^c Nullo jure pervaserant in omnes homines, non vivebant. Peccatum tunc temporis erat mortuum, mors erat mortua, & nullus erat sepulchro oculatus.

^o Nomen peccati à pecore &c. homo vergebat in brutum, &c.

PEYRERIIUS introduces afterwards a *Præ-Adamite* making a long Speech to the *Post-Adamites*, if this Word can be used. Which is but an Explanation of what we have mentioned above concerning that Opinion, and in which he owns an innate Reason^d, which yet seems contradictory to the Note above. But the whole is an inconsistent System. We shall not tire our Readers by a longer Extract from this Dissertation.

A TREATISE much larger followed it, under the Title of *Système Theologique, &c.* *a Theological System drawn from the Hypothesis of the Præ-Adamites.* The Author maintains his Notion of *material* or natural, and *formal* or legal Sin; and contradicts all the Divines: *Material Sin* is natural to Men, and to the Body of which he is composed. All the Evils to which Mankind is subject, are a Consequence of Matter, not of *Adam's Sin*. Men and Beasts having the same organick Texture, are equally mortal. The Variety of their outward Form gives no Preference to Men, except the accidental Merit of looking up to his Creator, and the Place of his Abode^e. Such is the Nature of Matter, such are its Defects. The Soul only, which animates it in Men, raises them above Beasts.

MEN, says the said Author, were created to the Likeness of God, perfect, and even to a high Degree; they would have remained so, had not the Soul been lodged in a Body subject to Corruption. If any one asks, how Matter could defile the Soul? he gives no Answer to that Objection; but says by a kind of second Creation^f, Men are freed from this Corruption. This Deliverance is owing to the divine Spirit, by whose Strength Men acquire a truly supernatural Holiness^g, and are redeemed from Death by a supernatural Immortality, of which they were not capable by the first Creation.

THE Election of the Jews is a Consequence of the same System: It began at *Adam*, who is their true Father. God is also Father of the Jews, having espoused the Judaical Church^h. Nay, he is likewise their Motherⁱ. The Gentiles are only adopted Children, as being^k *Præ-Adamites*. The Scripture calls them only *Men*, or *Children of Men*, or *Fools*, or *Sinners*, sometimes *Beasts and unclean Animals*; whereas the Jews are said to be the *Children of God*, as having been made of a more perfect^l Nature than the other Nations which he had created.

THIS Distinction was very flattering in regard to the Jews, who were thus raised by *Peyrerius* to a superior Order of Men: and at the same time it might have proved an ingenious Romance, had not the Author strongly insisted upon the Truth of it. But he goes seriously about proving the Reality of the Jews being the Children of *Adam*, and the Gentiles Sons of the Earth. In order to this, he compares the first Chapter of *Genesis*, where it is said that God created Man by his Word^m, with the second, wherein *Adam* is introduced as the Work of God's own Hands; again,

^d *Quidquid Dei, &c. manifestum mihi erat lumine illo innato & rectâ ratione quæ mihi à Natura indita est.*

^e So *Ovid*. l. 1. *Metam.* says,

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini jublime dedit, cælumque tueri
Jussit & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

^f Lib. 1: Chap. VI. *Homines in lutum suum revolutos . . . Deus . . . recreare . . . decrevit, &c.*

^g In the same Book, Chap. 8.

^h See Book 2. Chap. 1.

ⁱ *Deus Judeorum mater.*

^k *Primæ creationis homines.* Lib. 2: Chap. VI.

^l See the said Book II. Chap. X.

^m See in *Bayle* on *Peyrerius* many Testimonies of that Writer's being stubbornly wedded to his new-invented System.

ⁿ Book II. Chap. X. above-cited.

the 47th Psalm joined to the 49th, in which the Gentiles are expressly called *Sons of the Earth*, appears to him as an evident Proof that there are two Species of Men. The Jews then being made of a finer Mould^o, had all the Reason on their Side not to be inquisitive about the other Nations, which drew their Origin from the *Præ-Adamites*. This was not an Effect of their Pride, but a Self-consciousness of their own Dignity. They were by this second Creation to live eternally, whilst the *Præ-Adamites* and their Posterity were doomed to Death as a natural Consequence of the *Corruptibility* of the Matter of which they were composed. Moreover, the Jewish Genealogies are clearly traced from *Adam* their first Father: Whereas in the Pedigrees of the Gentiles no Order is kept, no Knowledge preserved^p of their Origin.

THESE are not his only Arguments drawn from Scripture; God created Man *Male* and *Female*, not one only of each, but several; how else could they have peopled the Earth? and if God would not destroy the *Canaanites* suddenly, lest the wild Beasts should destroy the *Israelites*, who were in number six hundred thousand, besides Women and Children; how much more pressing would that Danger have been, if God had created only one *Male* and one *Female*? 'Tis plain then, says *Peyrerius*, he created several, and their Posterity was immensely increased before *Adam* came forth from his Hands, and he gave him a Wife made like him; and this is the Reason why the Jews were not to take Wives from amongst the Gentiles.

PEYRERIUS having thus displayed his happy Talent at Reasoning, proceeds to other Proofs drawn from historical Facts. *Adam* it seems had a Governor or Tutor, a Rabbi^r says his Name was *Semboſcer*; who could this be but a *Præ-Adamite*? Our Author indeed^t does not believe Rabbinical Fables; but there are some Footsteps of Truth even in Fables. *Cain* having killed his Brother *Abel*, was afraid of being killed himself: by whom? he became a Robber and Captain of Robbers: who were they? He married; yet *Adam* had then no Daughter; what Wife could he get? He built a Town; what Architects, Masons, Carpenters and Workmen did he employ? The Answer to all these Questions is in one Word *Præ-Adamites*.

THE Histories of the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Chinese*, &c. Thirty Dynasties of Kings in *Egypt* for thirty thousand Years, besides the Reign of the *Sun* in the same Country during the Space of six hundred thousand six hundred and seventy-six Years; not to mention other Nations, are a clear Demonstration of the Existence of the *Præ-Adamites*.

THE wonderful Improvements of Arts and Sciences, of Astrology, Astronomy, of Divinity, of Witch-Craft, of which we have such ancient and curious Monuments, shew they were arrived to such a Perfection in those early Days, which we consider as the Infancy of the World, that it seems impossible^t that the Space between *Adam* and *Moses* could suffice for such a stupendous Progress. Whence without entering into Particulars, which is needless, and would appear long and te-

^o *Quis meliore luto finxit præordia Titan.*

^p *Gentium . . . stirps & origo prima confusa & incognita . . . quod à principio incognito & a sæculis innumerabilibus Avergines creati . . . crescente propagationis luxuria, qua alii super alios trusi & retrusi sunt . . . ortus sui primitias conturbaverunt.*

^r We find in the *Menagiana* "that *Peyrerius* would have been well pleased if he had known that a Rabbi had mentioned *Adam's* Tutor." If *Menage* had read the third Chapter of the third Book of the *Work* from which we now extract, he would have found that *Peyrerius* knew it. And 'tis a Wonder that *Boyle* did not take Notice of this Mistake, but probably he had not read it neither.

^t *Quamvis parum credam Rabbiorum fabulis, nihil tamen adeo fabulosum est quod non antequam redeat veritatem, Chap. 3. lib. 3.*

^r See *Chap. 4. lib. 3.* He takes this Story of *Cain's* Robberies from *Josephus Ant. Jud.*

^t See the last Chapter of the third Book.

dious to our Readers, it must be concluded, says *Peyrerius*, that these were *Præ-Adamites*.

IF one should answer, That *Adam* was endowed with the Knowledge of all Arts and Sciences at his Creation ; and had no more to do than to cultivate them, and instruct his Children in them : This appears no ways satisfactory to our Author, over fond of his own System. Accordingly he complains loudly of the Prejudice which makes the World think that *Moses's* Books are the oldest that ever were wrote about the History of the World ; he advances many bold Assertions in that Chapter ^a in favour of what Libertines object against the Authority of *Moses's* Books. He says they are Extracts taken from Books of greater Antiquity, and that this great Lawgiver himself had given a History of the Creation of the ^a *Præ-Adamites* ; but what now remains of his Works concerns only the Jewish Nation. He looks upon it as a Consequence of the same Prejudice, our looking upon as general to the whole World, what is only peculiar to one Nation. Thus, says he, the building the Ark, planting the Vine by *Noah*, was the first Work of its Kind, as we think ; but how is it possible they should have been so long unknown ? The Deluge only overflowed the Countries inhabited by *Adam's* Children, to punish them for joining in Marriage with the *Præ-Adamites*, and following their ill Courses. Darknefs overspread only *Judea* at the Death of Christ ; the Star, which guided the three wise Men, was only a Light set up for them. The Sun did not go back really, only the Shadow retrograded upon *Abaz's* Sun-Dial. The *Babylonians* had it only by Hearsay, and were not Eye-Witnesses of it ; neither did the Sun and Moon stop their Course for *Joshua* ; and he avers that such Explications of the Scripture are not in favour of Unbelievers, nor derogatory to the Wonders of God's Providence. Our Readers may consult this strange Work concerning the 29th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, in which he explains away the Miracle of the Jews Cloathing not wearing out, &c. by pretending it means no more, than that having Oxen and Sheep, they needed not want Clothes and Shoe-Leather^b, and pretends one ought to have Recourse to Reason ^c on such Occasions. His Notions (as to the Eternity of God ^d and of the World, as to the Imputation of ^e *Adam's* Sin, its spiritual Propagation to all his Children, nay even its Retrogradation so as to be imputed even to the *Præ-Adamites*) are so abstruse, that we shall not overburden our Readers with them in a Work like this chiefly historical.

FATHER *Simon* has collected some curious Anecdotes, which make it appear, that *Peyrerius* had borrowed his System from the Rabbins and Cabbalists, who “ upon “ no other Ground, than because the first Letter of *Genesis* happens to be the “ second of the Alphabet, draw this Inference, that *Adam* is only the first Man of “ a second World, before which there was another. Many Jews, says *Simon*, “ believe this Dream.” The *Mahometans* have gone further than *Peyrerius* ; some of them having given us the Names of some *Præ-Adamites* ^d. The *Sabæans* ^e are of Opinion, that *Adam* was born of another Man and a Woman. But *P. Simon* takes notice ^f of a very remarkable Turn of Thought of *Peyrerius*, who in a

^a The first Chapter of the fourth Book.

^b *Rerum omnium Genesim ante Adamum conditum scripsisse mihi facile persuadeo*, Book IV. Chap. 2.

^c Book IV. Chap. 5.

^d *Rationalis sum, & rationi conveniens nihil a me alienum puto*. Ibid.

^e Chapters 10, 11, 12. of Book the fourth.

^f See Book fifth.

^g See choice Letters of *Simon*, Tom. 2. Lett. 1. and following, in which he refutes *Peyrerius's* System.

^h See *P. Simon* in his said first Letter.

ⁱ We shall give an Account of them in this Volume.

^j See *P. Simon* in his second Letter.

Book ^f supposes two Messiah's, one for the Christians, who is Christ; the other for the Jews, who is to come, and conquer for them the whole World. But this has no Connection with the *Præ-Adamitical* System.

THE same learned Writer informs us^g, that a Sect appeared in *Holland* under the Denomination of *Præ-Adamites*: But either he was wholly mistaken, or if any embraced that Opinion, they did not form a Sect. *Peyrerius*, according to the same Author, was accused of *Plagiarism*, and drawing up his System from some Memoirs of one of his Brothers who died in *England*. Be that as it will, *Peyrerius* died without ever renouncing either his *Præ-Adamism*^h, or his second Messiah, who is to come for the Jews only, and restore themⁱ to the flourishing Condition from which they fell so many Ages before.

^f The Work was intitled, *Retalling of the Jews*; it was never printed. See *P. Simon* in his fourth Letter, which contains some curious Anecdotes concerning *Peyrerius*.

^g See the said fourth Letter.

^h See *Boyle* in the Article *Peyrer*, and *P. Simon*.

ⁱ *Dr. Burnet*, in his Book *de statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium* (translated into *French*, or rather disguised by one *John Brion*, first a Priest, then a Church of *England* Minister, and now probably not so much as a Christian, as is the Fate of most of his Brethren who have left the Catholick Church) gives flattering Hopes to the Jews of a glorious Reign for a thousand Years. But this no ways regards our present Subject. That ingenious Writer has certainly fallen into great Mistakes, not but that we hope for the Conversion of the Jews, and their Re-establishment; but in a Solid, Christian, and Spiritual Sense.

General Dissertation,

On several modern mystical Sects.

WE need not have Recourse to the first Ages of Christianity, to trace out the Origin of those who are now called ^a *Mysticks*: Neither is it requisite that we should prove, that the Expressions, the Notions, Contemplations, Principles, Enthusiasm, &c. of those who are so called, were known to the primitive Christians, and that many ecclesiastical Authors, even some Saints, have gone, both in their Conduct and Writings, beyond the Bounds of what is required of Men, as their essential Duty. Particular Men may, by a special Privilege from God, have been raised to a higher Degree of Holiness, which would appear merely fantastical if ordinary Men should claim it; and Saints, in their exalted Station, may use extraordinary and supernatural Expressions; which, if apply'd to a whole Sect, upon all Occasions, as a Rule by which Consciences are to be governed, contrary to the constant Practice of all civil Societies, even of Christian Communions, would at last turn to the Prejudice and utter Ruin of both. Ancient and modern *Mysticks*, which, by their own natural Temper, or from Self-Conviction, have been carried beyond the usual Limits, ought to be excused and pitied: But, without judging too severely of the ancient *Mysticks*, who are far less dangerous by the Distance of Time, who can find Fault with us for blaming those of a later Date who have made it a general Practice to speak in such a Language, as no-body else, nor they themselves can understand? Our modern *Quintists* and *Pietists* seem to be of Opinion, that their so much boasted Contemplations, ought, like a strong Fever, to deprive Men of all common Sense, and rational Way of thinking or speaking ^b. It must be owned, that a great Fervour of Devotion is often accompany'd with a heavenly Fire and Sallies, which raises the Mind above sensible Objects: But this is not common to all Sorts of People, much less at all Times, because we are frail Men, and none but Angels and Saints in Heaven are, or can naturally, remain in a State of perpetual Ecstasy of Contemplation. Let, therefore, the *Mysticks* give us leave to say, that the Language of Religion ought to be clear and plain, without any Shew of Vanity or Pride; the Generality of the Faithful are to be edified by it; they have a Right to speak to God, and to hear his Word: How can this be done, how can they attain true Christian Wisdom, by Means which an Author ^c calls *Occult*, or *Secret*, by the various subtle Ways, which he mentions, and sets down in four distinct Orders ^d, *the Universal*, *the Purgative*, *the Illuminative*, *the Unitive*? What useless unintelligible Words are these, to the

^a By the Word *Mysticks* we mean those pretended enlightened Persons, who are called *Quintists* or *Pietists*: Though, at the same time, we own some may be sincere, and not to be reckoned amongst the *Hypocritical Contemplatives*.

^b Their Expressions are dangerous, and even blasphemous, or tending to Libertinism, if literally taken; and if they do not use them in that Sense, why will they constantly employ them, and thus act against Reason and Religion?

^c Goth. Arnoldus, in his *Hist. and Descript. Theol. Myst.* p. 88, 89, edit. Francof. 1702.

^d This Table, drawn up by Hugo de Palma, is highly recommended by Arnold, as clear and easy.

Generality of the Faithful? Would not a sober Meditation on Christian Truths, and moral Duties, be far preferable, cost less Trouble and Study, and produce more solid Conversions? Well may we apply, to these Spiritualists, the Words of ancient Authors^c. So much being premised, 'tis now high Time to extract from the best Authors, what is most essential to modern *Pietism*, and *Quietism*, as a Supplement to what has been said before in this Work^e concerning the *Quietists*.

What we have heretofore taken Notice of about the *Anabaptists*,^f that Antiquity plainly shews remarkable Foot-steps of their Opinion, may with Justice be repeated here of *Mystical Doctrine*: Not only of the true one^g contained in holy Writ; but likewise of that *Mystical Devotion*, which renders Men singular, and different from all others, which inspires them with a *Spiritual Misanthropy*, of which all Ages and Countries furnish us Patterns. The natural Dispositions of some Men, the Turn of their Mind, their Splen, is so closely connected to those pretended Raisings of the Heart and Soul to God, so easily mistook for the Love of God, for the Sighs and Groans of true Repentance; that we may, with good Grounds, aver, that Mysticism, as a German Writer says,ⁱ is as ancient as *Adam*.

But to look no farther back than the three or four last Ages,^k we may look upon St. Bonaventure, John Taulerus, Rußbrochius^l, Denis the Carthusian, St. Bridget, blessed Angelica of Foligny and some others, as the Founders of our modern *Mysticks*: Or, if this is thought too injurious to their Memory, at least, the Conduct and Writings of those pious Authors, have, in some Measure, given a Sanction to *Mysticism*, which the Moderns have carried to so great an Excess: Yet neither these, nor many others since their Time, ever pretended to make a Schism, or form a Sect. The same must be said of John of the Cross, Lewis Granada, the two St. Catherines of Sienna and of Genoa, St. Theresa, Rodrigues, Eusebius of Nieremberg, St. Francis of Sales, and Cardinal Bona, Barbanson, Horstius, Bernieres de Louvigni, and many others, have only lived and wrote in a *mystical Way*. But in our Days, Molinos, and his Disciples in Italy; Mrs. Bourignon, and Mr. Poirer in Flanders; Madam Guyon and Francis la Combe, a Barnabite Monk, her Director, Master, &c. in France, spread the *Quietism* and formed a Sect. Several pretended *inlightned* Persons had been taken Notice of before the last mentioned, such as Desmarais de St. Sorlin, who, amongst other Works, published a Book under the Title of *Delights of the Mind*, which Punsters^m called the Delirium of the Mind: One Father Guilleri, whose enormous Excesses would probably have met with an exemplary Punishment, if his own

^c *Turpe est difficiles habere nugas* Petron.

^f In the first Vol. about *Jews and Catholics*.

^g See above in this Volume.

^h An Author who has wrote against the *Pietists* says, that the *Mystical Doctrine* of the Prophets consists, in teaching Men how to think and act, so as to practise Virtue, and obtain Happiness, which is the reward of it.

ⁱ Arnold. Chap. iii, and ix. of *Hist. and Descrip. Theolog. Myst.*

^k Ecclesiastical History makes mention of some Monks of Mount *Athos*, who pretended to see a Light, which they called God, with bodily Eyes, by the Perfection of their Prayer, and by this Vision, to have arrived at the highest *Quietude*. They were called *Omphalo Psychi*, that is, *having their Soul in their Belly*: Because they were directed "to turn their Eyes and Thoughts towards their Belly . . . to look in their Bowels for the Place of the Heart . . . Day and Night, &c." See Allatius, lib. ii. c. xvii. de *Eccles. Orient. & Occid. perp. Confess.* In the 15th. Century, one William de Hillerness, a German Carmelite-named *Intelligent*. They moreover taught, that bodily Senses sin not, and corporal Actions are not Crimes. This Opinion is not very different from the Tenets of our *Quietists*: And might not the Monks of *Athos*, looking at their *Belly*, be maliciously explained in the same dangerous Sense?

^l Rußbroch, who has wrote against some German *Quietists*, pretends to settle exact Rules, to distinguish true *Mysticism* from that which is false.

^m The French Words, *Delices* Delights, and *Delires* Delirium, differ but in one Letter, and the Punn consists in that.

Rank, and the Interest of the Society of which he was a Member, had not obtained his Pardon: Besides, it was not judged convenient, by a publick Condemnation, to divulge an abominable Doctrine, fit only to be buried in eternal Oblivion.

England and Germany had also their *Quietists* ⁿ. But we must here inform our Readers, that the Name *Quietist* is peculiarly adapted to those who pretend to be *Catholicks*: Whereas the *Protestants* are called *Pietists*; though at the same Time it must be owned, that they differ in some Points, and even those who are of the same Denomination of *Quietists* or *Pietists*, do not agree amongst themselves. The *Pietists* renounce all worldly Vanities, are absorbed in a deep Contemplation, reject all *sensual and earthly Desires*; but then they separate themselves from all Christian Assemblies, under Pretence of the scandalous Abuses practised in them: Such *Pietists* are perfect *Man-Haters*, they complain of the whole World, and the whole World either laughs at, or in its Turn complains of them. The *Pietists* are also accused of being *Latitudinarians*, and believing that they may remain in the Religion in which they were brought up, provided they keep in their Hearts the essential Points of *Pietism*.

Some Years ago a *Catechism of the Pietists* was published ^o, the Author of which is not against Christian Assemblies, nor like the *Quakers*, for Sacraments only inter-iour. But there are so many various Sorts of *Pietists*, that it is not possible to reduce their Doctrine into a Catechism, without foisting a Thousand Contradictions in it: However the most violent amongst them are, within a small Matter, the same as the *Quietists*. Next to these are those of *Germany, Switzerland* and other Countries, who are not willing to profess openly a rigid *Mysticism*. They practise it only at Home, or within Doors, but in publick they avoid a Conduct different from that of other Christians. We may reckon, as a third Sort of *Pietists*, a Set of Men who, in all Communions, are *doubly* diligent in all exteriour Practices of Devotion, and are less known in the World, than in Churches which they daily visit. They are very numerous in the United Provinces, and are nick-named *Refiners*, by the *Dutch*. They intirely deprive themselves of all the Pleasures of Life; and contrary to the Practice of most *Bigots* and *Prudes*, who generally leave their Passions when these fail them; these *Refiners* dispatch them early, though some of them think it enough to take up one when they leave another. Be that as it will, they are to be known from other People, by a grave, sedate, outward Behaviour, no ways apt to inspire the Beholders with Joy, and verify the Saying, that Joy is not in this World the Portion of Piety ^p. In a Word, they might easily be mistaken for another Sort of *Pietists*, who followed one Doctor ^q *Francke*, who always affected an humble and contrite Aspect, down-cast Eyes, and a negligent Carriage of their Head, or leaning towards their Shoulders.

These Disciples of *Francke* aptly introduce the Account of the *Pietism* of *Germany*, which, not without some good Grounds, is thought to have taken its Rise from *English Quakers*, who flying from their Countrey, brought their Doctrine into the Place of their Retirement, which, with some Alterations, became from an *English Fanaticism*, a *German* one. Thus *Anabaptism* came from Antiquity; *Quakerism* from some *Anabap-*

ⁿ *Rous, Bromley, Pordage*, and several others, have been famous *Mysticks* in *England*. See *Arnold* in the above cited *Hist. & Descr. Theol. Myst.* Chapter xii. Wherein he likewise mentions several *Germani*.

^o This pretended *Catechism* is a Medley of *Anabaptism, Quakerism*, and *Latitudinarian Principles*; and the Contents of it never held by any one Man.

There is a Joy very opposite to Piety: But there is another Sort of Joy which always accompanies it.

^q These Disciples of Doctor *Francke* are taxed with despising all those who did not embrace their Party: But what Communion is exempt from that Fault. See hereafter some further Account of this *Francke*.

tists who fled to England; and now again *Quakerism* was changed into *Labadism* in *Irisland*, and into *Pietism* in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and other Countries. A *Lutheran* Teacher named *Brofgeband*, and a Minister of the same Communion, named *Muller*, Men who made Profession of a suspicious and jealous Sort of Piety, took Scandal at the Generality of *Lutherans*, as minding too much the outward shew of Religion, and paying too little Regard to the essential and interior Duties of it. About the Year 1664, or 1665, they exclaimed vehemently against this Disorder. *Muller* went so far, as to say that Christians, (he meant the *Lutherans*) had their Idols, to which they paid an Homage very prejudicial to true Piety. But these Idols proved at last to be no more than a Pulpit, a baptismal Font, a Confession-Seat, or an Altar. But at this Rate, our over-zealous Preacher might have found out Idolatry in all Religions, even in those amongst *Protestants*, who are the most averse to Ceremonies. Such ridiculous and over-strained Invectives raised several *Lutheran* Consistories against *Muller*, and they looked upon him as a *Quaker*. *Spener* and *Horbius*, two *German* Ministers, the one at *Frankfort*, and the other at *Traerbach*, inveighed also bitterly against the outward *Lutheran* Worship; and being approved by a great Part of their Flock, complained still louder, even against Customs of no great Importance, under Pretence of bringing Mankind back to the true Faith in *Christ*, and a sincere interior devout Life. They held their Assemblies apart, and grew daily more numerous: They explained Scripture each of them as he could, exhorted themselves and others, and were by Turn, this Day Pastors, and Sheep the next. They never disputed about dark and mysterious Points of Divinity, but, as it is pretended, took Notice only of those Truths, which were evident, practical, or necessary to Salvation. *Spener* had a Call to go and preach at *Dresden*, before the Elector of *Saxony*: A dangerous Office for a *Pietist* that of a Court-Preacher! He performed it with all the Severity which could be expected, from a *Myflick*. The Dignity of *Superintendent*, to which he was raised, and is much like that of a Bishop amongst *Catholics*; the Authority of that high Station, and *Spener's* own Example favoured the Increase of *Pietism*, which was begun in *Saxony*, in the following Manner. During the *Superintendency* of *Spener*, some pious Assemblies were held, they say, at *Leipsick*, and in other Towns of *Saxony*; which might be called Schools, since the Bible was there explained to young Students in Divinity, in a far different Method from that which is generally used^r, that is, without entering upon Controversy, or handling those knotty Questions which are so common among Divines: We are likewise told, that the Instructions given in those Schools consisted only in reading the Bible, with a clear and plain Explication of it; tending solely to mend the Lives of the Hearers, and inspiring the young Men with true Sentiments of Piety, and training them up in the Practice of religious Duties: In a Word they were only Schools for moral and practical Divinity. Doctor *Francke*^s had his Education in those Schools. Their Reputation daily increased,

^r See before the Dissert. on the Ceremonies of Lutherans.

^s These Schools were called *Collegia Philobiblica*. See *Graes. Hist. Quak.* l. 3. p. 545.

August. Herman, Francke had for a long Time been an Admirer and a Disciple of *Spener*. The Collectors of *Biblioth. German.* in the xviiith Toni. give a long Account of him, taken from several Pieces published to his Honour, in a Volume in Folio, of two hundred Pages in small Print, besides the Funeral Orations: So fertile are the Northern Genius's in their Productions of Panegyrical Wit! "He is there praised as the Founder of the abovementioned *Collegium Philo-Biblicum*, at *Leipsick*, in 1686. by the Help of some of his Friends. He went afterwards to *Luneburgh*, where his Inclination to Piety was so much increased, that he called that Place his own *Spiritual Country*. . . . Going back to *Leipsick*, his Lessons on Scripture . . . being adapted to make his Hearers better Men . . . brought him great Audiences . . . at which Envy and Jealousy being raised, he underwent many Vexations about his new Method. . . . He met likewise powerful Enemies at *Erford*, of which Place he was Minister. . . . but deprived of that Office

creased, by Degrees the Citizens, even Women, were admitted in them; and the Crowd was so great at those Meetings of Learning and Piety, that the Churches were unfrequented; and some were so wedded to this new Method of Devotion, that they despised the old, even the Lord's Supper, as an indifferent and insignificant Practice. Thus it happened, they say, that pious Notions carried on to an Excess, gave Birth to *Pietism*, the Professors of which were attacked with many Calumnies or Detractions. Their Assemblies were forbid, and inveighed against in the strongest and most odious Terms, which did not put a stop, but rather increased the Evil^a. In 1689, *Francke* and some of his chief Disciples had many captious Questions put to him by the Deputies of the *Academical Senate* of *Leipsick*. One brought on another, every Article of Faith was canvassed, and those *Inquisitors*, for so they are called by the Author here cited^x, finding no Herefy, nor any thing tending to it, in the Opinions of those into whose Faith they had so strictly inquired, pronounced no Censure against them; but ordered^y them not to instruct the People; except in the ordinary Method. And to enforce their Obedience, the great Consistory of *Dresden*, backed by the Authority of the Elector, who is the Head of this ecclesiastical Senate, gave express Orders to the *Academical Senate* of *Leipsick* to suppress entirely those Colleges, Schools and Conventicles, and to imprison all those who should refuse to obey. These violent Measures, the Effects of which are more or less perceived in all Christian Communion, brought some *Pietists* back to the *Lutheran* Orthodoxy out of Fear, whilst the rest shewed either more Constancy or more Stubbornness.

THE most moderate of the *Pietists* were *Spener's* Followers: They made a publick Profession of adhering to the Doctrine of *Luther*; but at the same time pretended to aim at a greater Purity than the generality of *Lutherans*; at a more entire Denial of their Inclinations, and a closer Union with Christ; they condemned the Neglect in the Practice of Christian Virtues, the loose Discipline of the Church, and the Pastors who were guilty of either in their Ministerial Functions. They despised human Learning^x, chiefly Eloquence in Preaching, which they looked upon as downright Noise and *Bawling*^a. But their boasted Adhesion to *Luther's* Doctrine did not screen them from the Hatred of Synods and Pastors, whom they condemned for neglecting their Duty, and accused of minding nothing but to purchase Ease, and the Conveniencies of Life. The Pulpits thundered out against them; the learned Academicks wrote Books, drew up long Catalogues of their Heresies; and then gave by Derision the Name of *Pietism*^b and of *Pietists* to the Sect, and the Abettors of it.

WE said before, that *Pietism* in its Beginning was only transplanted *Quakerism*: Others pretend the contrary^c; because, say they, most of these *Mysticks* were scarce acquainted with the Name of *Quakers*; and *Spener*^d, the first Founder of *Pietism* in

^a Office in September, 1691, and ordered to leave the Town in two Days.... The Elector of Brandenburg gave him some Employment in his new University of Hall.... where he founded a School for "poor Children.... and died in June, 1727." His other Praise-worthy Actions may be found in the above-cited *Biblioth. German.* with the Description of the Foundation and Order kept in the Orphan's House at Hall.

^b *Thomasius*, a learned Man of great Reputation, wrote an Apology for those Assemblies, and had like to have fallen a Victim of the *Anti-Pietist's* Fury. Other such Assemblies were held at *Gießen*, &c.

^x *Crocius*, p. 547.

^y *Ne quis publice privatimve aliter populum imbueret, &c.* Ibidem.

^c *Peiret* in his *Divine Oeconomy*, tom. v. p. 46, 50, 304, and other Places, pretends to prove by the Example of Christ and of the Apostles, that Studies are to be despised. No wonder; *Mysticism* and sound Learning are inconsistent.

^d *Evagatio Linguae & Vociferatio.*

^e See *Crocius*, p. 550.

^f *Crocius*, p. 552.

^g *Spener* died at *Berlin*, where he was an Ecclesiastical Counsellor, in 1705.

Saxony, was wholly ignorant of their Principles. We leave it to our Readers to decide this important Dispute ; and in the mean time proceed to give them some Account of *Horbius*, who going to *Hamborough* was made Pastor of a *Lutheran* Church in that City. He held such Assemblies as he had seen at *Traerback* : His Collegues were soon apprised of the Doctrine by him taught ; their Zeal was fired, and they accused him before the Consistory of being a *Quaker* and an *Entbusfast* ; this was further confirmed by a small Book^c, which he put into the Hands of his Disciples, and which the Orthodox of *Hamborough* judged to be entirely conformable to *Pietism*. One of the most zealous Pastors inveighed with all his Eloquence against the Heresy, taxed Dr. *Horbius* with being a Heretick and a *Quaker*, insisting with all his Oratory on the Necessity of expelling so dangerous a Man. His Enemies met with the desired Success. *Horbius* was obliged to retire, and leave the Victory to *Lutheran* Orthodoxy. But he left behind him some Remains of *Pietism*.

PROBABLY OUR Readers will be glad to find here in one View, and in few Words, the Opinions charged upon *Pietism* in^d general. They are taxed with being indifferent as to Religion, and despising (in *Germany*) the symbolical Books of the *Lutherans* : Their Notions of the Trinity are far, they say, from being orthodox ; Creation and Providence they look upon only as an Emanation from the Divinity. They are accused of being Millenarians ; of pretending that all Religion consists only in Contemplation and *Quietism* : in which State the Soul is no ways guilty of the Disorders committed by the Senses, of believing that all Actions are necessarily good or bad : In consequence of the last-mentioned Opinion, they condemn Dancing, Gaming, &c. because no Action being indifferent, and these not being good and religious, they must be ranked amongst those which are evil. We shall not mention here what is further objected to them concerning their thinking a greater Reformation necessary than that of *Luther*, the Abuses which they find in the *Lutheran* Confession, their little Regard for Controversy, and being very indulgent to Fanaticks, &c. The Truth is, *Pietists* differ widely one from the other.

THE Author from whom we borrow this Account distinguishes three sorts of *German Pietists*. The first is as above described ; the second he calls *Weigeliens*, from one *Weigelius*, who had preached in *Misnia* long before *Pietism*. He taught that all Men have within them a divine budding Shoot, that God and Christ communicate themselves to them in such a manner that they are as one Essence, that each Man ought to adore God and Christ as residing within himself, &c. This bears some Resemblance to *Quakerism* and *Quietism*, &c. Who but Mysticks can understand this Jargon. The *Pietists* who adopted this boundless *Mysticism* were likewise *Millenarians*, and their Kingdom or Reign of a thousand Years, which at first was represented as wholly spiritual, soon became carnal by the gross Notions which they since added^e to it.

THE Disciples of *Bohm*, according to the same Author, made up the third sort of *Pietists*. This *Bohm* was both a Shoemaker and Writer of Books, though employed at his Trade ; his Meditations on Religion shewed also some reading of Cabalistical and Chymistry Books. His Mind was^f well turned for Enthusiasm and Fanaticism ;

^c This was, we are told, *Poiret's* Book on the Education of Children.

^d The Reason of this Expression is, that in *Germany* whatever is condemned is called *Pietism* ; in *France* *Quietism* or *Jansenism*. Thus in former Times whatever was not orthodox was branded with *Manicheism*, in the *Arians* Time with *Arianism*, which is a great Obstacle to the clearing up Historical Facts.

^e See *Madam de Bourignon's New Heaven and new Earth*. See also *Poiret* in Tom. v. Chap. 4. and following of his *Divine Oeconomy*, where he cites another Book of *Bourignon*, called *the Morning Star*.

Merbes in his *Polyhist.* Tom. 3. p. 555.

Visions and Dreams he bragged of, which he displayed in Matters of Divinity and Philosophy, which he pretended to clear up in a Book ^e intitled, *The Grand Mystery*, which is a Theological, Chymical Comment upon *Genesis*, wrote in the German Language: This being printed, made more Enthusiasts. 'Tis likely this Cobler, notwithstanding his superior Genius^e, as his Disciples pretend, did not well know his own Meaning; for he is always obscure and ambiguous, as might become a *half learned* Person, who has but confused Ideas of what he undertakes to explain: Other Mysticks endeavoured to clear up his Works, or rather carried on the false Principles he had laid down, and added of their own Invention ^h *strange and pernicious Things*. For Instance, they owned a perfect Unity in God as his Essence, yet they imagined it contained a three-fold Principle of all Things, viz. Fire is God; they said, the Light of the Fire is the Knowledge and Wisdom of God, the Son of God; the Holy Ghost is the Unity by which the Light enlightens. This seems rather to be *Spinozism* than *Pietism*, since in this System, God and the whole World is but one Being. However these pretended *Pietists* delivered the foregoing Expositions of Nature in a chymical Style not easy to be understood. They said moreover, that *God had created the World with Number, Weight and Measure; that he had created himself in the rational Creatures; that Man restored enjoys alone this Light, which they call Christ*, &c. This may bear some Resemblance to the Notions of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*; but 'tis very possible that a Man should produce out of his own Thoughts such Ideas, especially when they are accompanied with extravagant Notions, which require no other Master than a lively Imagination violently heated. From these real or false Mysticks we now come to *Labadism*.

The LABADISTS.

LABADIE had been a Jesuit in France, became a Protestant, and was made a Minister at *Middleburgh* in *Zeland*. He was, they sayⁱ, eloquent, but not very learned; which Defect was supplied by Art and Cunning. His Dispute against *Wolffogae*, Minister at *Utrecht*, on account of his Treatise concerning the Interpretation of Scripture^k, shews him to have been contentious, and even seditious; his Behaviour in that Quarrel was unfair and deceitful; so that his Enemies were not quite in the wrong, when they described him as a haughty, proud, self-conceited, stubborn Hypocrite: Yet he had Admirers, who praised his Humility and modest Carriage, and undertook his Defence with so much Warmth, highly approving his Project of reforming even the grand Calvinistical Reformers of the United Provinces, that a Schism had like to have ensued in the Church of *Middleburgh*: But his Design failed; notwithstanding all the Endeavours of his Friends, he was deposed from the Ministry in the Synod of *Dordrecht*, held in *March* 1669, having before that been suspended from his Functions by the Synod of *Narde*. The Sentence of his Deposition says, that *from his first coming into Holland, he designed to reform the Church*, and maintained that *this was to be brought about by a Separation*

^e *Moorthof* in the same Work, Tom. 2. p. 166.

^h *E sua sapientiae officina multa, verum monstrosa atque horrenda, superstruunt*, says *Crocius*, p. 558. Adding withal, that the Elector of *Saxony* ordered the Doctrine of *Bohm* to be examined by the Divines of *Dresden*, who found it orthodox, and acknowledged that he had received particular Gifts from God. But one *Wetckius* having inserted this Fact in his *History of Dresden*, the Examiners of the Manuscript ordered it to be omitted in the Impression, p. 559.

ⁱ See *Crocius*, p. 510, and following.

^k The Apology for the Synod of *Narde* by *Wolffogae*, printed in 1669, relates all the Particulars of this Dispute, and of *Labadie's* Conduct: he was his Enemy.

tion..... and setting up a new Church of Elect: which he actually began at Middleburgh, and¹ in other Places; he taught, says the same Act, that whoever could or thought fit should have free Liberty to speak in the Assemblies on the Text proposed, which approaches to Quakerism^m. Labadie himself gives the following Account of his new Church: "God has been pleased to hear at last the Prayers, Tears and "Groans of his little ones..... and opened a Way to a happy Separation..... "which has been and is very advantageous to us, since we are about three hundred "well-chosen Members in our Assembly, all Elect, and breathing a true Christian "Spirit.

"WE give Thanks to God who has chosen us..... all of one Heart and Soul, unanimous.... in speaking openly all Truths, remedying all Abuses, in Doctrine, "in the Administration of the Sacraments, and in Morals, with a full Intention "to reform ourselves according to the Model of the Primitive Christians..... We "meet twice a Day, Morning and Evening; thrice on Sundays. We do not "preach in Pulpits, but all sit on Benches, without any Difference between the "Rich and the Poor; excepting that the Pastors, Elders, or those that speak, sit on "a Bench made like the rest, but somewhat higher, in order to be seen and heard "..... Modesty, Union, Humility, Zeal, Piety, &c. are such amongst us, that we "daily give God due Praises for the Establishment of this new Church. We have "several Doctors and eminent Persons, humble, fervent, and pious. No Abuse is "tolerated, no Excess allowed in Dress, Ornaments and other Vanities, nor the "Trades which are subservient to them encouraged. Our Lives are measured in "every Point by the Rule and Standard of the Gospel and Apostolical Doctrine, being "firmly resolved to become a lively Representation of the Primitive Church in our "Belief and Practice: Many are astonished, but many are drawn in.... from other "Places: For God has almost every where united some to us and to our Spirits.

"EVEN this Day, being the first of the Year 1669, (which we desire may be "happy) we met before Day-Light, to explain the 6th, 7th, &c. Verses of the fifth "Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and are fully bent on casting off "the old Leaven from us and our Congregation, &c."

NOTWITHSTANDING the Oppositions which Labadie met with, several Persons of Note embraced his Reformation; and if we believe the Author of the *Religion of the Dutch*, this Ex-Jesuit, Ex-Carmelite Fryar, and since his Deposition both Ex-Minister and Excommunicate desired to be protected, he and his Adherents, by the States of Holland: The Answer to his Petition was, "that if he pretended to be "a Member of the Walloon Church, he must conform to their Orders and Discipline; but if he formed a new Sect, he should enjoy the Protection given by the

¹ A small Collection of Tracts printed at Leyden in 1669, gives us a Letter against Labadie, in which he is accused of "being guilty, wherever he preached, of despising his Colleagues, and sowing Divisions "betwixt the People and their Superiors, both ecclesiastical and political, &c..... of being a publick Enemy "to the good Order of the Church, disturbing its Peace by his wild Imaginations, which he maintains as "heavenly revealed Truths."

^m In the Title of the same Collection he is called *Arch-Quaker*, and the above-cited Letter calls his Disciples *Quakers*, and gives a long Account of his schismatical Behaviour in a Church of which he took Possession by Fraud on a Communion-Day. April 14. 1669. making use of the Bread and Wine paid by and prepared for others, inventing new Forms of Administring the Lord's Supper, disobeying the repeated Orders of the Magistrate, signified to him by proper Officers: to remedy which Disorders, the publick Council of Middleburgh made an Order on the Day following, forbidding Labadie to hold publicly or privately, at home or abroad, any Assembly, till further Orders; under the Penalty against him or his Abettors, of being dealt with as guilty of Rebellion and Sedition.

ⁿ See in the same Collection a Letter from Labadie to Mr. Arndel at..... On reforming Churches already reformed.

^o See p. 79.





"Sates to all Religions." But if this Story, related by a professed Enemy to the *Dutch*, is true, the Policy of the States was then very different from what it now is, since they have lately put a Stop to all the Meetings of a Society which is no ways offensive to Religion, good Manners, or political Government^p, and has, and does still flourish in *Great Britain*, under the Protection of the greatest Men of that Kingdom, even Princes of the Royal Family. However *Labadie*, according to the same Author, "did not settle his Sect in *Holland*, left his female Disciples, several of whom were of the highest Rank, should be taken from him; but went elsewhere with his Adherents of both Sexes^q."

MOTHERS and Husbands were chiefly startled and afraid of *Labadie's* Society, upon Account of so many Ladies embracing his Doctrine. It was reported that this Sect, recommended to the Female Sex, so exalted a Spirituality, as to be above all Sensation, and to bear without Emotion, the Practice of the *Mamillarians*, which this new Apostle try'd upon a young Lady^r, though without the desired Success; she was scandaliz'd at his Impudence, he was asham'd she had made so little Progress in Spirituality. Thus whilst some sincere Persons are dazzled with the glorious Pretences of *Mysticism*, and seriously aim at true Spirituality, others begin with the Spirit to end by the Flesh: This is the *Carnal Quietism*, so justly charged upon some *Mysticks* in *France*, *Italy*, and other Parts; these are its dismal Consequences; tho' we hope few *Mysticks* practise them. But to return to *Labadie*; his other Opinions were no less pernicious. He taught, 1. That God did sometimes deceive Men, 2. That Scripture was not necessary, because God immediately inspires some Souls, and whoever reads Scripture ought to be less mindful of the Text, than of the inward Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. 3. That Baptism is to be deferred till the Use of Reason. 4. That the Gospel is only for spiritual Men, and reinstates them in perfect Liberty. 5. That God did not prefer one Day to another; so a Day of Rest was not absolutely to be kept; accordingly *Christ* gave leave to work devoutly, &c. All these, and other false Doctrines he held, yet he could, upon Occasion, exclaim against the Corruption of Christian Churches, as loudly as any of those *Quakers*, against whom he wrote a small Book, intitled *Confutatio Quakerismi*.

LABADIE and *Bourignon* were Contemporaries, but their Spirits did not unite; *Labadie* was not spiritual enough to be her Collegue, and too stubborn to become her Disciple: Both were of a hot, fiery, quarrelsome Temper; how could they have agreed together? The enlightened Woman despised the regenerate Man^s. At last *Labadie* died, in 1674. at *Altena*, in the Arms of his beloved *Schurman*, and left *Peter Yvon* to succeed him, who brought the *Labadists* together, at *Wierwert* in *Friesland*, a Manor belonging to the Family of *Somersdyk*. He had before spread his *Fanaticism* from *Middelburgh* to *Amsterdam*; he had likewise a small Settlement between *Utrecht* and *Amsterdam*, with a Printing-house; from thence he went into *Friesland*, *Westphalia*, and at last to *Hamborough*. Every where he made *Proselytes*

^p The Free-Masons who are so well known in *England*, that we need not give our Readers any Account of them: Besides, as it is not a religious Society, it is out of the Sphere of this Work: But the ignorant or curious Reader may consult the Book of their *Constitutions*, and the *Defence of Masonry*, occasioned by a Pamphlet, called *Masonry dissipated*. The Prints here annexed represent Free-Masons.

^q Such were four young Ladies *de Somersdyke*; the Princess Palatine *Elizabeth*, who embraced *Labadie's* Reform, by the Persuasion of the illustrious *Anna Maria de Schurman*, so well known amongst the Wits and learned Men of her Time; this last Lady was so favourable to this Sect, that *Cresslar*, p. 310. of his *Hist. Quak.* calls her their second Parent.

^r See *Bayle*, at the Word *Mamillaries*. See *Basnage*, p. 52, and following of Tom. 2. *Annal. Prov. Unies.*

^s See *Bayle*, in the Word *Bourignon*.

of both Sexes, till in 1670. one *Antony de la Marque* published his Reasons for leaving his Sect; which, though brought into Disrepute by the Discoveries then made, is not yet extinct, but some of them are still to be found in *Friesland* and *Groningen*: We can only look upon them as a Branch of *Quakerism*.

We must beg Leave of our Readers to introduce (at the End of all these *Mysticks*, more or less extravagant and fanatical, as their own Temper, or the various Circumstances of Time and Place directed them) a Sect of Men (the *Cocceians* we mean, Disciples and Followers of *Cocceius*, one of the most venerable Divines of *Holland*) who, as *Bayle*¹ informs us, have formed a Party which is generally embraced by the Youth of *Holland*. Some will find the *Cocceian* Notions and Opinions very much tending to *Mylicism*; and the more moderate will, for their own Sakes own, that one *Mystick* widely differs from another: However we shall say nothing but what is borrowed from approved Authors.

To begin, *Stoupe*² speaks of *Voetius*, the Head of the Party opposed to the *Cocceians*, and known amongst the *Dutch* Divines, by the Name of *Voetians*, in these Words. “*Voetius*, says he, held, and still³ holds, that it is no less a Crime than “*Sacrilege*”, to leave Church-Revenues in the Hands of voracious lazy People, who “are useless both to the Church and State; that one ought to exclude from the “*Communion*, those who are called⁴ *Lombards*, the Usurers, because they follow “a Business expressly forbid by the Word of God; that the Day of Rest ought to “be kept religiously, but no other Holy-Days; . . . that speaking of the Apostles, “*&c.* . . . the Name of *Saint* should not be prefix’d; . . . that all Christians ought “to lead a penitential Life, and renounce almost every, even innocent Pleasure. . . .” Another Author⁵ says, that *Voetius* loved Piety, and was remarkable for the tender Sentiments of Devotion dispersed through all his Writings, and visible in his Life and Conversation. Such a Man might hold such Opinions. He would not leave off the old Way of teaching Philosophy, either for want of Penetration, or out of Scruple and Tenderness of Conscience, but, says the same Writer, “Strongly oppos’d the “Opinions of *Descartes* (*Cartesius*) thinking that the Consequences drawn from his “Principles were very pernicious.” This was the Occasion of the Dispute between *Voetius* and the Disciples of *Cocceius*, who had embraced the Cartesian Philosophy, as is pretended⁶ for their own Interest; but in a short Time, the whole Difference turned about a new and whimsical (according to the *Voetians*) Method of explaining the Scripture, brought in by *Cocceius*, which has been much followed, “because, say the same *Voetians*, it helps to teach and preach, ‘without Labour, “Trouble, or even Attention, strange Things, which the Vulgar think sublime, “for want of understanding them, and look upon them as deep Mysteries, because

¹ See Article *Witchius*.

² *Religion of the Dutch*. p. 34. and following.

³ *Voetius* was then alive.

⁴ Some rigid Christians with the Churchmen were like Levites, in the old Law, without Lands: As *Sulpicius Severus* relates Lib. 1. Hist. *Levitis . . . nulla Portio data quo liberius fervirent Deo*. But at present the Church has as much Right to its Possession, as any Man to his Estate: All that can be desired is, that Churchmen would avoid Avarice, which that Historian blames in them. *In biatis possessionibus . . . auro incubatis . . . quæstui per omnia studetis*, &c.

⁵ The *Lombards* were the first Usurers, from them the Name is derived to all those who follow the Practice.

⁶ *Entretiens sur les Differentes Methodes . . . des Voetians, & des Cocceians*. p. 403. This Author says that *Voetius* applied himself more to Morality, and to inspire Christian-Virtue, than to display a vain Reading and a vast Learning.

⁷ *Entretiens*, &c. as above, p. 19. give the Reasons which moved *Cocceius* to embrace the Cartesian System.

⁸ The same p. 238.

“ they are obscure. This singular Method is reduced to four * or five Heads.
 “ 1. The seven periodical Changes in the Church, of the new Testament, which
 “ they find in every Text. 2. Types and Figures without * End or Measure, drawn
 “ from the ancient History and Worship. 3. An everlasting Affectation of applying
 “ to Christ and the Gospel those Texts of the old Testament, where before
 “ *Cocceius*, no body guessed that they were meant. 4. Discovering late and modern
 “ Facts * in the ancient Prophecies. 5. One may reckon, says the same Author,
 “ as a fifth, the numberless and exaggerated Distinctions, betwixt the Faithful un-
 “ der the Mosaical Dispensation, and the Christians. In a Word, *Voetius* * is always
 “ mindful of Morality and Practice, *Cocceius* only of the Theory. Yet it must
 “ be owned speculative Divinity is of great Use, and deserves to be cultivated by
 “ Clergymen:” It gives at least an Appearance of Erudition to Discourse, and helps
 to make Sermons longer, so that an Author * says, *the Cocceians are learned Men*,
 but *the Voetians are ignorant*: Moreover these Types and Mysteries amuse the Hear-
 ers, and please them by their sparkling Wit; whereas Morality often proves tire-
 some, and even is apt to bring a Terror upon them; nevertheless this Method is also
 liable to some Defects; the Figures are easily mistaken for true Learning, and serve
 only to increase the Pride of both the Preacher and his Audience. After all, we are
 not to commend or condemn one Side or the other; only we must, according to the
 Design of this Work, take Notice, that the *Cocceians* maintain, that the Com-
 mand given to the *Jews* to keep one Day of Rest, is Part of the Ceremonial Law,
 from the Observance of which *Christ* has freed us; that *Christ* will reign temporally
 upon Earth, after the Destruction of *Antichrist*, and that the *Jews* are to be con-
 verted, at that glorious Time of the Church of Christ upon Earth.

WE shall now entertain our Readers with the Account given us by the same Au-
 thor *, of the *Antinomies* and *Hebraicks*. “ They says he, retire into private
 “ Places, and have their Meetings together and all the publick or particular
 “ Complaints made of their holding scandalous Opinions, have not hitherto been
 “ able to draw from them an open Profession of their Doctrine: Some bestow
 “ upon them the Appellation of *Antinomies*; others say they are a spurious Branch
 “ of the *Cocceians*, with whom they glory in having the same Origin, *same Name*,
 “ and *Marks of Distinction*: But the *Cocceians* disown them Be that as it will,
 “ these *Hebraicks* have left the publick Assemblies, and meet in particular Conven-
 “ ticles, without publishing any Profession of Faith: They are therefore looked up-
 “ on only as *Antinomies*: We have no more to do, than to collect what has been
 “ said of the *Antinomies*, and what is known of the *Hebraicks* in general Here-
 “ ticks of that Denomination have appeared in the World at three different Periods
 “ of Time. 1. Towards the End of the fourth Age. 2. At the Beginning of the
 “ Reformation *. 3. In our Days Their chief Errors consist in a Dislike, not to

* The same p. 48.

* The same Writer furnishes us with strange Instances of such Types and Figures as explained by the *Cocceians*. p. 80. Blew, is Grace; Crimson, Humility; p. 174. The Gold of the Ark, is the Divinity of Christ; the Cedar-Wood, Part of it, is his human Nature; see likewise p. 109, 184. concerning the Bells which hung at the High Priest's Garment, and the Finns and Scales of the Fish, which the *Jews* are allowed to eat. We shall leave for our Readers, the Pleasure of finding out, if they can, what Explications are given by the *Cocceians* to those Texts.

* The same p. 342. and following says, that *Cocceius* finds the Council of *Trent*, in the 7th Chapter of the *Canticle of Solomon*: *Charles* the fifth in *Isaiah*. 23. and the Universities of *Prago*, and *Heidelberg*, given to the *Jesuits* in *Ezech.* Chapt. 39.

* The same p. 406.

* See *Entretiens*, &c. p. 30.

* The same *Entret.* &c. and following.

* See above in the Dissertation on the *Anabaptists*.

“ say Hatred of Sermons about Morality, which they look upon as unseasonable: For
 “ as St. Paul often mentions, that the Law is abolished, and its Opposition to the
 “ Gospel, they pretend, that preaching up Duty and Obedience, the Justice of
 “ God and his Rights, the Awe in which we ought to stand, of him and his
 “ Judgments.... which are relative to the Law, is the same as giving a new Life. ...
 “ to the Spirit of Slavery, by Reproaches and Threats contrary to the Gospel
 “ which breathes only Sweetness and Grace They say, that *Christ* dying for
 “ us, has not only taken upon him the Punishment due to our Sins, but our very
 “ Sins likewise, and draw from thence Consequences..... against the Necessity and
 “ Use of Penance (such Doctrine renders good Works wholly useless, if not
 “ pernicious, which ^b no *Libertin* has yet had the Assurance to say). Our Author
 “ goes on, and says, that it appears by the Writings of *Witsius*, on the Paradoxical
 “ Opinions and Expressions of these *Antinomies*, that they esteem the doing good
 “ Works, as an Endeavour to be justified, which is injurious to the Death of *Christ*.
 “ These Endeavours, say they, are used, these Works are carefully multiply’d, only
 “ upon Account of ^c some Merit to be acquired by them (This evidently proves,
 “ that they affect to exalt Faith, without any Dependence on good Works; which
 “ Faith, if it was to be defined according to their Notions, would only appear
 “ to come after Justification).... Faith, according to the *Hebraicks*, is a strong
 “ Persuasion which one has, of being elect.... This is a compendious Method, a short
 “ Way, which leads straight to our Aim, Salvation, the Consequence of Election,
 “ without the Trouble of examining so many Points, which practical Divines in-
 “ clude in Faith.... Try but your own Belief, and you may know whether you
 “ are elect....” Our Author closes this Account, with some Remarks on the
 Contempt, with which he taxes the *Cocceians* of Morality, and those who preach-
 ed it.

To conclude this Dissertation, we must observe, that the ancient Heathen Philo-
 sophy contains many strong Foot-steps of *Mysticism* and *Quietism*; but without run-
 ning so far back, we shall only set before our Readers a short Parallel, betwixt Asi-
 atick and European *Quietists*. The *Siamese* say, that ^d the first *Quietude* is in God,
 who is in an eternal Rest, and all true Sanctity amongst them, consists in the Imita-
 tion of that Repose. Christian *Quietists* also make it their chief and only Study,
 to contemplate and admire, without any Action, the everlasting Tranquillity of the
 supreme Being. Again some *Chinese* maintain, that the more one is idle, insensible
 and motion-less, like a Log of Wood or a Stone, the more he approaches the divine
 Perfections: Travellers call them the *Idle Sect*, which Name we may justly bestow
 on our perfect *Quietists*, who recommend Insensibility, and so great renouncing our-
 selves, as to be *Nothing* before God. The Eastern *Quietists* represent God as so
 mysterious and incomprehensible, that no Idea can be framed of him: And their
 Doctors are so wild, and full of Contradiction in their Descriptions of God, that
 all Travellers deem them to be Atheists: the *Quietists* of the West are also of
 Opinion, that in a true Contemplation, in renouncing ourselves, &c. the Soul of
 the Faithful cannot frame to itself an *Idea* of God, but loves him such as he is,
 without diving into his Attributes, so far as to wish what is contrary to his Perfecti-
 ons; for Instance, to be annihilated, struck out of the Book of Life, &c. “ Love,

^b Yet such singular Notions may be the Effect of *Libertinism*.

^c See in *Entret.* &c. p. 421. a Letter from one of the same Principles, in which he says, of good Works
All I can say is, that I do not condemn you.

^d Tom. 2. of this Work on Idolat.

“ says *Molinos*, in his *Spiritual Guide*, must go before the Understanding . . . the
 “ Soul must love God as he is, not as she conceives him to be . . . love him with-
 “ out knowing him, under the dark Veil of Faith, &c.” And our *Mysticks* have
 given such false and dangerous Descriptions of God, that their Adversaries made no
 Difficulty of calling them *Spinozists*, or even perfect Atheists. Some Eastern Sects
 have thought human Nature so *essentially corrupt*, that no Grace of God can raise
 it from that State: And our mystical Writer *Taulerus*^a says the same. This Paral-
 lel might be carried on further,^b but we shall only take Notice, that as the Asiatick
Quietists prescribe several Purgations which purify the Soul, and bring it to an abso-
 lute *Apathy*, or Insensibility which she can never lose: Our Europeans affirm like-
 wise, that the Soul passes from the *Purgative Way to the Illuminative*, which, even
 in this World brings them to the *Unitive*, where *Apathy* begins, since, according to
Eschius, a Soul must live^c without any Creature, any Sin, or any Pleasure.

^a See *Tauler*. Chap. 34. *Exercit. de Vita Christi*, where he says, *Deus cum Universis donis & charisma-
 tibus suis eum non posset extollere*, &c. Indeed he adds a saving Clause; but still these Words are too
 strong.

^b We may mention in the Sequel of this Volume, the *Quietism* of some Mahometan Sectaries.

^c See *Nicol. Eschius*, *Exercit. Spirit. xi. absque omni Creatura, peccato et Delectatione*.

DISSERTATION

On the Discipline ^a of the *Polish* ^b Brethren, known by the Names of *Unitarians*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Socinians*, &c.

THE Origin of *Socinianism* in the sixteenth Age, the astonishing Progress it has made through *Europe*; the subtle Arguments and Objections proposed from Age to Age against the *Eternal Generation of Christ from the Substance of God the Father*, and his Divinity equal to his Father, which that Sect has renewed, are Subjects so well known, so odious and even dangerous, so foreign to the main Drift of this Work, which is only to give an Account of *Customs and Ceremonies* that we need not entertain our Readers with the Particulars of those Transactions. We even mention *Socinus and Socinianism* with Reluctance, and shall give a short Abstract, with Fear and Trembling, of the Doctrine of that Heresy. The Orthodox burn the Professors of it in some Countries; in others they only condemn them to Hell-fire. But Christians of all Denominations (except the *Socinians* themselves) would cheerfully commit to the Flames the Books published against the Divinity of Christ, his being equal, co-existing and consubstantial to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. They would use all possible Endeavours to bury in Oblivion the very Names of those who have dared to attack these fundamental Points, and degrade him from his Godhead. A learned Author ^c has compared them to the *Mahometans*: This may seem too honourable a Parallel; we ourselves might also be condemned for giving any Account of the Doctrine and Discipline of the *Socinians*, if a very orthodox ^d Controvertist had not set us the Example.

THEY insist upon it, that the Doctrine of the Trinity destroys the Unity of God, and the perfect Simplicity of the supreme Being; adding withal, that if there may be three Persons, there may be more, and that at all Events the Godhead must in Consequence be multiplied. They pretend likewise, that the Texts made use of to prove the Divinity of Christ are not convincing, and ought to be understood in a different Sense; that many other Texts are point blank against it, that the Expressions employed to explain this Mystery are not scriptural, or to be met with in Holy Writ; that if Protestants endeavour to supply this Silence of Scripture by ^e Tradition, this is a way of deciding Controversies to which they themselves have no regard in their Disputes against the Catholics.

^a It is contained in a Manuscript wrote in 1642, by *Peter Morfeus*, intitled *Politia Ecclesiastica*, &c. from which part of this Dissertation is borrowed.

^b They are called *Polish*, because the Sect began in *Poland*, but have Churches in several Parts of *Europe*.

^c So called from *Socinus*, who died in the Year 1604.

^d See *La Cr.... Dissertations*, printed at *Rotterdam* in 1704. We believe our Readers will not concern themselves in that Dispute, which indeed is of no Use or Consequence.

^e *Maresius* published three large Volumes in 4to, under the Title of *Hydra Socinianis*, against *Volkefius*, whose Book *de vera Religione*, *Maresius* printed with his own, to refute it Page by Page.

^f We must take notice here, that the *Unitarians* and *Antitrinitarians* pretend, that the Fathers of the three first Ages, and before *Arius*, are silent about the Divinity of Christ. Dr. *Bull* has evidently proved the contrary: Both *Arians* and *Socinians* deny the Trinity; but the *Socinians* speak of Christ with much more Indignity than the *Arians* ever did.

As to the Incarnation of Christ^a, and his two Natures, the *Socinians* think that Doctrine useless to the Salvation of Mankind, and maintain that it cannot be proved by Scripture: For, say they, had it been necessary for obtaining eternal Happiness to believe the Mystery of the Incarnation, the Bible would have mentioned it as clearly and distinctly as the other Truths which we are obliged to profess openly. But we must not dwell too long on such dangerous Blasphemies. The other Opinions of the *Socinians* are in short as follows.

MAN was of his own Nature mortal, even before the Fall, and was never endowed with *original or primitive Justice*: The Light of Nature alone is not sufficient to lead us to the Knowledge of a supreme Being: There is no such thing as original Sin: We have a free Power to do good Actions, and our Reason, whilst sound, freely determines itself to them: ^b God knows not before-hand contingent and free Actions: The Cause of Predestination is not in God, but in Man: God predestinates no one in particular to be saved: He might have forgiven the Sins of Mankind, and reconciled Men with Divine Justice, and pardoned them, without the Satisfaction of Christ; for as he is Lord and Master, and disposes the whole Universe as he pleases, he may likewise forego and yield up his Right. Christ suffered Death in obedience to the Will of God, to comply with the Mortality and Weakness of human Nature, as being Man: God cannot die. The Death of Christ shews also his Love for his *Brethren*, and the Love of God for Mankind; it is a Confirmation of the Christian Doctrine, it has renewed the Alliance and Reconciliation of God with Men, &c. God the Father alone ⁱ is God, he has given or communicated his Divinity to ^k Christ; and that is the Name *above every Name* which has been given to Christ: Baptism is not to be despised, neither is it in itself of an indispensable Necessity, &c. Eternal Death is only a Continuation of Death, a kind of Annihilation with which God threatened *Adam* when he said to him, *Thou art Dust, and shalt return into Dust*: In like manner the Fire called eternal, is an eternal Destruction, named in the *Apocalypse*, or *Revelation*, the *second Death*, an Annihilation of both the Body and Soul of ^l the Wicked; and this is in Truth ^m the infinite Punishment due to Sin, by which the infinite Majesty is offended: Creation also they explain away; to create or produce out of nothingⁿ, says a fiery *Antitrinitarian* Zealot, is to bring it out of a shapeless Matter, &c. We omit the dreadful Consequences drawn from these Principles, and the sophistical Arguments by which the above-cited bold *Socinian* endeavours to prove ^o, that Trinity is an Invention.... &c. We now hasten from such Blasphemies to give an Account of their Discipline.

THOSE who are acquainted with *Socinianism* and all other Heresies only by Hearsay, may likely wonder at our mentioning any Order amongst such Atheistical Sectaries: Let them remember, that as *Cicero* himself observes, even Thieves and Rob-

^a *Volkellius de vera Rel.* lib. 5. chap. xi.

^b *Volkellius* in the same Place.

ⁱ The same, in the first whole Chapter of the third Book.

^k The same, Book 5. Chap. 29.

^l See *Protest. Pacif.* part 2. p. 73. "As the Life of the Body is quite destroyed by a Man who kills another, so God utterly destroys the Life of the Souls.

^m The last-mentioned Author in the same Place argues thus, "Sin deserves that God should take from the Sinner what he had given him: Now God has not given us in this Life eternal and infinite Pleasures; why then should he inflict eternal and infinite Punishments? &c.

ⁿ *Deus ex nihilo omnia fecisse dicitur, quia ea creavit ex materia infirmi, &c.* So says *Volkellius*, lib. 2: cap. 4. See also lib. 2. cap. 1.

^o *Volkellius*, lib. 5. cap. 9. *Veterator iste Satanas.... ex sacris voluminibus ea dogmata elicit quæ partim gloriæ divinæ partim humanæ salutis non parum officiant, atque hæc primum pertinent errores, &c.*

bers must have some Rules: But, to be serious, they have a Discipline which is worth Notice.

IN the Preamble of their Discipline, they give a Definition of the Christian Religion; it is, they say, a *rational Worship*, God being the eternal Reason can require nothing unreasonable or absurd, *paid to God through Jesus Christ*, there being no other Name by which Men are saved, *in Spirit* to exclude Ceremonies, *and in Truth* to reject the Types and Shadows of the *Mosaical Law*, *with (or grounded upon) the Hope of an immortal Life*; because such a Worship must inspire us with a steady Trust in God's Goodness, and Expectation of Immortality in consideration of our faithful Compliance with it. But for this end two things are required, first to admit no Doctrine but that of the Gospel, and to own no Teacher but Christ; the other to raise no Building but upon the Foundation of Christianity; that is, the true Doctrine of Christ, who is and ought to be the only Head of all those who profess it. Christ being gone to Heaven, it became necessary that in his Absence this Doctrine should be preserved, and the Faithful governed by wise, pious, learned Persons, who should not be the Masters, Fathers, Princes of the Church; there is one only Father and Sovereign, which is God; one only Master, which is Christ; but keep the Deposit of Faith, and deliver it to others as they received it. Our Dependence is not on them, but on Christ; we do not obey them, but Christ. They ought not to exalt themselves above others, neither ought the Faithful to prefer the one to the other out of a Prædilection and Prevention in favour of a particular Person, to the Detriment of, and Injury offered to, another: such Behaviour would be a pernicious Occasion of Ambition in the Church. *Obey those who are set over you*; that is, shew them due Respect, as being the Dispensers of Truth; submit to this same Doctrine which they preach as from Christ. In a word, the Church is a Monarchy, and Christ is its only Monarch.

AFTER this Introduction, which we have abridged, Discipline or Ecclesiastical Policy is defined, *A Mean, or an Order by which the Church is exteriorly governed, according to which, as much as is possible, both the Governors, and those who are governed, comply with their respective Duties*. This Definition says, that Discipline is for the *Exterior* Government of the Church, that is, for the Customs and outward Ceremonies. The interior Government belongs to Christ, the only Monarch; into whose Secrets whoever has dived, may be acquainted with the Nature of his Government: But we are persuaded, say the *Socinians*, that with the Help of the Holy Ghost, he imprints his Laws on the Hearts of the true Faithful, and that *setting out on a Voyage in a far distant Country, he has called his Servants, and has given ten Talents to one, five to another, to trade with*, that is to instruct the Faithful, &c. As to the Laws which regard the governing of the Church, Christ has not settled any immutable and fixed for ever, as *Moses* did with the *Israelites*, whom by God's Appointment he loaded with minute and circumstantial yet inviolable Ordinances. Christians then not being slavishly bound to any particular Policy, they bring great Mischiefs on the Church, who for every trivial outward Custom, are ready to make a Schism. Sooner than break Communion with the *Brethren* on such Occasions, it would be better and more becoming a good Christian to follow the Ceremonies and Customs of those who are scandalised at ours, with this only Caution, not to swerve from the Religion of Christ. It is lawful for any one to build upon the Foundation of

¶ They are the Words of the Gospel used by our Author.

Christianity, provided, first, that he is mindful, and shews a Respect for Truth, and secondly, that he observes Decency, and preserves the Honour of Religion. Such is the general Character of these *Antitrinitarians* Discipline. The Particulars are delivered by the Author whom we copy.

“WE divide, says he, the whole Church into six Parts, of which four are to take care of the Ecclesiastical Policy, viz. 1. ^a The Patrons or Protectors of the Church. 2. The Pastors. 3. The Elders. 4. The Deacons. The last mentioned and the Patrons or Protectors are to provide for the bodily Wants; the Pastors and Elders are to take care of the spiritual Wants.... We call *Patrons or Protectors of the Churches* those who either build them or keep them in Repair at their own Expence: whether they are the first Founders, or only carry on the Work begun by others: Those also who provide a Maintenance for the Pastors, or raise charitable Contributions for the Poor belonging to a particular Assembly or Church.... We name them first only because they with the Pastors and Elders are the Props and Pillars of the Churches as to what regards their Ecclesiastical Policy, &c. We detest Anarchy, as the Root of great Evils, but we do not allow ^r any to usurp the supreme Authority, which belongs only to Christ. The *Protectors* and *Pastors* ought mutually to support and pay a Deference to each other, and all unanimously to concur with joint Endeavours to promote the Glory of God, and the Cause of Religion.... Pastors are the Ministers of Christ, and Dispensers of the Mysteries of God: they hold the Rudder of the Ecclesiastical Commonwealth^f, and watch for the Safety of the Church, they and the Elders, with all the Members of the Ecclesiastical Senate..... The Pastors are all equal, their Age and Labours may draw Respect and Veneration, but do not give them an arbitrary Authority.... The young ones must pay great Regard to those who are more advanced in Years; but these ought not to take occasion from thence to behave haughtily towards their younger Brethren, &c. Age and Experience must have some Weight, when it promotes the true Interest of the Church, but the Advice of the younger must not be despised, when by common Consent these Counsels are found more profitable and advantageous to the Church.”

THE Elders are described as Persons of known Probity and great Experience, who are *jointly commissioned* to govern the Church: Age or Riches are not considered in that Choice, but Virtue and Abilities.

THE Function of Deacons is well known, they are the Treasurers of their respective Churches, are to give an exact Account of what they receive for the Maintenance of Widows, Orphans, and other Poor.

THESE are the Duties of the four Orders who govern the Church Policy: The other two Parts of the Faithful *governed* are, 1. Children, or Beginners not yet initiated. 2. Those of ripe Years, well instructed in their Religion, and truly pious. They are called *Brethren*.

THE chusing or ordaining of Pastors belongs to the Synod or Assembly of Pastors and Elders met by the Authority of the Church, in order to be its *Representative* on that important Occasion: Elders and Deacons are chosen in the same Manner: A good Life and sound Judgment are the chief Qualifications required in Elders preferably to Learning: Their Piety is a tacit Condemnation of Vice, and hinders its

^a *Patroni Ecclesiarum.*

^r *Nullum ordinem in Ecclesia vim dominii, quod ipsius Christi est, usurpare patimur:*

^f *Clavum Reipublicæ Ecclesiasticæ tenent, &c.*

Progreſs; a ſolid Underſtanding helps them in giving Advice, and compoſing Differences: Deacons likewiſe may perform their Duties without Learning; good Senſe, a good Conſcience and tried Fidelity are the only neceſſary Diſpoſitions to that Office.

WHEN a Paſtor has a Call, his Election and Ordination are performed in the following Manner, “ Whether this be done in a general Convocation of the Faithful, or in private and before a ſmall Aſſembly, Prayers, a Sermon, ſinging Pſalms or Canticles are requiſite as in the Sunday Office. They begin with Singing and Prayer, the Faithful are warned and diſpoſed, by an Exhortation, to the Ceremony. The Sermon is concerning the Duties of a Paſtor, which being ended, “ three^{*} Paſtors riſe from their Seat and go to the Perſon who is to be elected (or conſecrated) who is kneeling. They lay their Hands upon him, and hold them on the Head of their new Brother ’till they end the Prayers, which he is to ſay likewiſe with an extraordinary Fervour and Zeal, and aloud (that the Faithful may hear him) in the Name of God the Father and *his only Son* (becauſe he is to repreſent them in his Miniſterial Functions) with the Help of the Holy Ghoſt (to bear the Weight of that important Office) &c. Theſe Prayers being finiſhed, and the new Elcct ſtill kneeling, one of the three Paſtors deſires the Faithful to pray for him, &c. Then all kneel, and conclude the Ceremony “ with ſinging a Canticle ſuitable to the Occaſion.”

THE Sermon includes the mutual Duties of Paſtors and their Flock, the Union and Peace between them, the Submiſſion of the Faithful, which yet is not to be a blind Obedience nor ſlaviſh, the Paſtors ruling like Fathers, with Patience, Forbearance and Charity, &c. yet without weakning by too much Remiſſneſs the Power and Authority of the Goſpel; their Obligation to prefer the Intereſt and Welfare of the Flock to all private Conſiderations; ſerving the Church with Joy and Freedom, not as mercenary hired Servants; giving good Example, in order to enforce their Inſtructions; and avoiding to be concerned in temporal Affairs and worldly Caſes, leſt their more eſſential Duties ſhould be neglected.

PASTORAL Functions conſiſt in preaching, adminiſtring the Sacraments, viſiting, exhorting, and praying for the Faithful. Preaching is, in the *Socinian* Diſcipline, the chief Duty of a Paſtor, in order to inſtruct the Faithful, and feed their Souls by the Word of God. Prayers, Pſalms, or Canticles, which are ſaid before or after Sermon, raiſe the Hearts to God, and inflame the devout with Zeal. The Inſtructions are to be 1. Without any Shew of Erudition, wholly tending to Edification. 2. Without Diſputes, and nothing to be mentioned in them but what is neceſſary to Salvation. 3. Without Eloquence and its Flowers, or any choice Expreſſions. 4. Without Confuſion, clear and methodical, the Arguments concluſive, earneſtly moving Sinners to Repentance. 5. Without enlarging much upon common Topicks. Theſe are the Rules preſcribed in the Author of the Book we cite.

“ As to Baptiſm, ſays the ſame Writer, it is ordered that the Paſtors only ſhould adminiſter the Sacraments; they only therefore are allowed to baptize. We call Sacraments *theſe exteriour Actions by which a Chriſtian^{*} either conſecrates himſelf* “ (or ^(†) *is conſecrated by others*) to God and to his Son, in the Holy Ghoſt, and under-

^{*} *Ad ſummum tres.* Never more than three.

[†] *Facta quedam exteriora, quibus aliquis ſe Deo ſilioque, ejus in Spiritu ſancto, aut alicui propter Deum . . . obligatum eſſe . . . quoad vixerit . . . conſeſſatur.*

^{*} This is upon Account of Infants.

“ *takes to be devoted to them all his Life*: But as this cannot be done without Witnesses and some Solemnity; therefore our Author goes on and says, *the said Christian enters into an Engagement with somebody* (meaning the Pastor) *for the Love of God and of his Son.*”

The Socinians, like other Protestants, admit but two Sacraments, but before Baptism they lay their Hands upon Children^y, to testify, that “ from the Cradle^{*} Infants, even before they are fit for Baptism, ought to be consecrated to God, and to Christ, which Ceremony is also to serve as an Admonition to their Parents, to take upon them a solemn Engagement, to breed them up according to the Will of God.” This Imposition of Hands, seems to be a new Invention of the Socinians, but they bring this Reason for it, That Infants, not being capable to give an Account of their Faith, or, by Consequence, to reap any Benefit, from the Things signified by Baptism, it must be owned they cannot engage themselves to Christ; so the Pastor’s Blessing, (which accompanies the Imposition of Hands) and the Exhortation which they make to the Parent of the Infant, supply the Defect of Capacity, till coming to the Use of Reason, they may be sensible of the Obligation contracted by Baptism. Such is the Ground of that Custom, which is performed by the Antitrinitarians, as follows. A Pastor goes to the House where the Child is, says a Prayer, which, if Time and Place allow of it, is often accompanied by singing a Canticle: Then he makes an Exhortation to the Childrens Parents, lays his Hands upon the Infant, naming him, and blessing him in the Name of God, and desiring his Grace and Protection for him, chiefly † to fit him for taking the Obligation of serving God and Christ in Baptism. This is followed by another Prayer, to give God Thanks for the Child’s Birth, to beg his Forgiveness for the Sins of all present, and his Grace for that Child, and all other Children of the Faithful, and for the Parents, &c. A general Blessing concludes this devout Ceremony.

We may easily conclude from hence, that the Socinians have the same Notions about Baptism, as the Anabaptists, and that they think no one can receive it, unless he is able to know the Difference betwixt Truth and Falshood, to know God, and embrace the Christian Doctrine by Choice: Besides which, they require Piety and Devotion, an humble Sentiment of their Unworthiness, all which the Minister is to inquire into. Baptism itself is conferred, by Immersion, in a clear running Water^z: The Minister, those who are to be baptised, with their Friends and Relations as Witnesses meet. The Pastor explains the Effects, Excellency and Dignity of Baptism, makes an Exhortation to the Candidates, and desires God will baptise them with his Holy Spirit, &c. When all the present Witnesses have said *Amen*, the Pastor goes into the Water, and those who are to be baptised go in likewise, and kneel. The Minister says, *I baptise thee with Water, in the Name of the Father, &c. may the Lord Jesus baptise thee with his Holy Spirit*. Whilst he pronounces these Words, he puts one Hand on the Head, the other on the Chin of the Baptis’d, and thus dips them. He then comes out of the Water, a Canticle is sung, and the whole concludes with a Prayer.

^y *Baptismi aque prodromus est manuum parvulis Impositio.*

^z *Manus parvulis recens natis . . . e sine imponuntur . . . ut per Benedictionem Pastoris, & admonitionem parentum, illi quidem . . . initiuntur . . . hi vero ad illos secundum voluntatem Dei educandos . . . obligentur.*

[†] *Vovens . . . ut ad Sacramentum Deo Christoque ejus discendum adulescere possit, &c.*

^{*} *Convenient in locum (qui est aque limpidæ) Baptismi.*

By this Baptism all these faithful become, and are owned as perfect Members of the Christian Antitrinitarian Church : The Day after they receive the Communion, with suitable Exhortations, and Acts of Devotion. We now must introduce the Ceremonies used by those Sectaries, in the Administration of the Eucharist, (which Word^a they prefer to those of *Christ's Body, or the Lord's Supper*. With them, as with some other Protestants, the visible, sensible, and real Matter, is Bread and Wine, which are Signs, Types, and Figures, of the Body and Blood of Christ : This Sacrament, as that of Baptism, is to be given only to those who are instructed, and can give an Account of their Faith, &c. These Brethren cannot approve, that the Communion should be carried to the Sick^b : But their Discipline allows, that in a long Distemper, when the infirm Person earnestly desires to pay Homage to Christ by this Ceremony^c, an Assembly may be held at his House. Except that one Case, wherein Decency is highly recommended, and all possible Caution, the only Place of Communion is the Church, the most proper Time Sunday-Morning, it being a Day set apart for Piety and Prayer, in brotherly Union, the rest of the Day may be employed in Meditations on, and Thanksgiving for, the Benefits which God is pleased to bestow upon us : They think it sufficient to receive once a Year, at Easter, and like all other Christians exclude from the Eucharist those who are under Sentence of Excommunication.

THEIR Manner of celebrating the Eucharist, is like the Custom of the Calvinists : They sit round a Table covered with a clean Cloth, on which is placed some Bread, cut into small Pieces, and an empty Chalice, into which the Deacon pours Wine, at a convenient Time ; all this is decently covered till the Hour of the Communion-Service. The Pastor stands at the Table, and having administered the Communion to the others, he takes it himself sitting. Exhortation, Prayer, and the singing a Canticle accompany this Ceremony, which ends with a general Blessing.

SACRAMENT, say they, is an Oath, an Engagement, two are made to God, Baptism and the Eucharist, there remains another Sacrament, which is called Marriage^d, which is a mutual Engagement between a Man and a Woman. The Ceremonies of it are much the same amongst the Polish Brethren, as with other Protestants. All Christians agree, that Marriage is a strict Obligation, contracted between the Parties, for Life, instituted, and ordained by God, in order to people the World in a regular Manner ; before Witnesses, with the intervening Help or Blessing of a Churchman, who is invested with a Power from Heaven on that Occasion, all which Conditions are so requisite, and ought to be publicly known, that without them Children are not lawfully begot. Our Sectaries disallow Marriages with Infidels, or within the Degrees prohibited, ^e by the Laws and Customs of the Countries in which they reside : They forbid all Immodesty, Excess, and Vanity, in the Preliminary, or subsequent Ceremonies. The contracting Parties stand in the Church before the Pastor, who reads to them ^f a Text, concerning the Duties of

^a Nos maluimus antiquam Eucharistiæ vocem retinere, &c.

^b Egrotis salis Eucharistiam domi eorum administrandi morem, ut superstitiosum, minimè laudamus.

^c Nisi longo detineatur morbo æger, & hoc ritu Dominum . . . honorare abeat . . . tum poterunt fratres ad eum convocari, &c.

^d Restat Sacramentum quod non ipsi Deo Christo immediatè dicitur, sed quod alter alteri dicit propter Deum & Christum ; vocaturque Conjugium, &c.

^e Eos qui aut præter Dei præscriptum, aut præter legum dictamen, morem denique inter eos inter quos vivunt receptum, matrimonium inire volunt pastor copulare cavebit.

^f Stantibus omnibus textum ad officia conjugii pertinentem legit.

that State, and explains it in a Christian Discourse, which is like a Sermon to them, and to all present; then they solemnly, and before Witnesses, Friends, and Relations, make to each other the usual Promises, which are too often forgot, the Pastor joins their right Hands, and holding his Hand upon theirs, pronounces the Blessing, after which they exchange Rings. They are, says our Author, *“made of the purest Gold, no Joints or Separations appear in them, and their round Figure admits of no beginning or ending.* Excellent Types of the Union and Constancy of the married Couple! ————— Dancing, Singing, Musicians and Fiddles, are strictly prohibited at Weddings; as being only Incentives to Uncleannefs.

In the Order for visiting the Sick, their Discipline prescribes no particular Ceremony: The Pastor is indispensably obliged to visit the Sick, to comfort and exhort them, and to pray for them and his whole Flock: We therefore shall give now an Account of their Funeral-Service. The chief Benefit and Comfort, which a Pastor ought to reap by the Death of the Faithful, is to see them depart with an edifying Repentance, and Submission to the Will of God: The Ceremonies used by most Protestants are not many; if now and then they obtain large Legacies, and lead, as one may say, the Testator's Hands to their own Profit; this is neither so common as in some other Countries, nor does the Substance so left, turn to the enriching whole Communities: However the Discipline prescribes as to the Place, “that it be left to Choice, though they do not condemn those who bury in Church-yards.” The Body of the Deceased is placed in its Coffin, at the Door, or in a Ground Room of the House, till the Time of Burial. The Pastor begins a Psalm, and sings it with the Faithful present, pronounces a Sermon, to exhort and comfort them for the Loss; on the short Duration and Uncertainty of Life, the Sins of the dead Person, and of those who are still living; the Virtues, good Qualities, and Faults of the deceased *Brother*, &c. Then Prayers are said, to obtain Mercy, and Forgiveness of Sins; which being over, the Assembly goes out, and the Pastor standing at the Door takes leave of the Company, in the Name of the deceased^h. Before the Body is put into the Ground, another Exhortation is made, accompany'd with a short Praise of the dead Person, according to his Merit, but rather over than under. The Ceremony is concluded by eating and drinking; Wine in plenty is given to those who honour it with their Prefence, to drown Sorrow, as is the Custom in the Northern Countries.

The Elders and Deacons are called the Pastor's Handsⁱ, being like Instruments which he makes Use of; their Functions are well known, as to the Manner of chusing them, it is the same with the *Polish Brethren*, as with other Protestants.

In order to keep the Flock to its Duty, Pastoral Inspection, Correction, and Censure are employed; either in private or in publick: The first is not any ways frightful, but then it seldom mends the Guilty; the publick, as in process of Time it becomes an Anathema, or Excommunication, the very Name of it is dreadful in all Communions; it generally breeds a Hatred against those who incur that Censure, which is not easily overcome, the excommunicated Person being looked upon as the Object of God's immediate Punishment. And in such Circumstances natural Pride decides in our Favour, as if our Sins were more pardonable, because either

^g *Annuli . . . ex solido & ab omni fæce depurato auro constantes, ita sunt compacti, ut nulla in eis partium scissura, nullæ commissiões appareant . . . ob orbicularem suam figuram, nec principium sui nec finem obtinent.*

^h *Pastor . . . nomine mortui viventibus valedicit, &c.*

ⁱ *Pastorum velut manus, quibus tanquam instrumentis . . . utuntur, &c.*

Chance, or the Indulgence of others in our Regard, has hindred them from being made publick. However, the Aim of truly Christian Pastors, in such Censures, is only to mend a guilty Brother, and to bring him, by this saving Shame, to Repentance: In which Case, he must make some Reparation to the Church, which directs the Duties of each Christian; on some Occasions, a Confession made to a Pastor, with Signs of Amendment, sets all to Rights.

The *Socinian* Discipline requires, that Pastors be watchful over the Devotion of their Flock; that they take Notice when, and how often the Faithful come to Church, to hear the Word of God, whether they do it with due Attention and Respect; what are the Occasions of their Neglect, in a Word, that they enquire diligently^k into every the least Report, of ill Conduct, of Scandal or Disorder, &c.

THEIR Customs about Synods, or ecclesiastical Assemblies, Consultations, collecting Money for charitable Uses, and publick yearly Fasts, to atone for the Faults committed in the Course of the Year elapsed, and to beg the Continuance of God's Favour, &c. are no ways singular; so setting aside what is controversial, we shall not trouble our Readers with further Extracts from that Discipline, in which we cannot help commending, at least, their Moderation, and seemingly charitable Condescension.

The *Socinians* followed these Ordinances, till the Year 1658, when they were banished out of *Poland*; which proved a considerable Loss to, but not the entire Ruin of this Heresy; on the contrary it spread itself the more, and without ever obtaining such Toleration, to preach and meet together as the Anabaptists, Quakers, &c. have done: This Sect has cunningly insinuated itself, in most Christian Communion, even in those which seem the most opposite to their Doctrine; inso-much, that if the Hearts of many pretended Orthodox could be laid open^l, more *Anti-Trinitarians* would be found out, than can be imagined; and 'tis to be fear'd the Church of God would be dispeopled, and reduced to a small Number of Elect; by the unexpected Discovery of such a Number of hidden and invisible Hereticks.

The *Socinians* are taxed with measuring their Faith by the narrow Bounds of their Reason, God, say they^m, *never commanded that Man should believe what cannot be comprehended . . . we are created with an Understanding fit to conceive . . . and to deny what is impossible*: They are likewise accused of being useless to Governments, because, like the Anabaptists, they are against War, and the Functions of Magistrates. All Christians who admit a Revelation, know that Reason has its Bounds; but how far they reach is the Question, which is not a proper Subject for this Work. As to the other Accusation, we are inclined to believe, that if ever they meet with a publick Toleration, they will alter their Mind, and not refuse their Share of either Civil or Military Offices: Some might even be brought to accept of rich Church-Livings.

We shall say nothing of what is called modern Arianism, chiefly in *England*, because these Disputes are well known to our Countrymen; and after all, though there are but too many wedded to such Principles, yet they have not made any Schism or Sect apart. All we need take Notice of in this Place is, that now a-days every Opi-

^k *Etiā ad rumores de illorum vita aures arripes.*

^l The *History of Socinianism*, printed in 4to. at *Paris*, says, that *Socinianism* appears boldly in most Protestant States, and in the Books of several Protestant Doctors; and cites even *Jurieu*.

^m *Deus nunquam voluit, aut jussit debere hominem credere id quod non potest intelligi, nec percipi . . . hominis intellectum fecit optum . . . ad negandum quod impossibilest . . .*

nion is taxed with *Arianism* and *Socinianism*, if it deviates in the least from the common orthodox Expressions about *one God and three Persons*. 2. That few are qualified either by their learning or reading Ecclesiastical Authors, or even by a fair way of handling Controversy, to settle the just Bounds to *Arianism* or *Socinianism*. 3. That the Variety of Systems, frequent Disputes, and endeavours during fourteen Ages to clear up Difficulties, have had no other Success than to throw a darker Veil on the Understanding. 4. That all those who have entertained the Publick with new Notions, have been branded with the Names of Hereticks and false Doctors. But if our Readers are over-sord or curious to read such Books, they may find Employment by perusing Dr. Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, printed at London in 1712, as also Toland's *Christianity not mysterious*, published in 1696. And in order to proceed fairly, they must likewise take the Trouble to read with equal Attention, the Writers on the other side of the Question, a long laborious^a Task! which when they have gone through, they will probably be convinced at last, that Authority must and ought to prevail, that it is necessary not only to govern common People, in whom it supplies the Want of Sense; but even to direct the greatest Wits in their Enquiries, by which without this help, they are often misled from Doubt to Incredulity, from Incredulity to Atheism.

WE shall conclude this Dissertation with *Arminianism*; so called from *Arminius*^o, who headed that Party, which in 1609 presented to the States of *Holland* a *Roman-france*, from which they had the Name of *Remonstrants*. In that Writing all their Doctrine was reduced to five Points.

THE first was about Election and Reprobation, the Faith and Perseverance of the Faithful, and the Incredulity and final Impenitence of those who are damned: They widely differed from the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches.

THE second maintained that Christ died for all Men without Exception.

THE third owned that the Grace of God is necessary to do good Works. But

THE fourth denied that Grace operates in us with an *irresistible* Power.

THE fifth insisted that one cannot positively affirm that the *Regenerate* cannot loose Grace entirely: An Opinion of such Importance, said the *Arminians*, ought to be weighed, and well considered over and over. (It was in the Synod of *Dordrecht*, where the *old Orthodoxy* of Calvin got the better: We call it *old Orthodoxy*, because of late *Arminianism* is in great Vogue, and a modish Religion in several Protestant Countries.)

BESIDES the above-mentioned Articles, the *Arminians* are against original Sin, and deny the Imputation of the Justice of Christ; they likewise raise some Disputes about the Satisfaction of Christ; in a word, all the particular Tenets of *Arminianism* are to be found in the said Synod of *Dordrecht*, which condemned them^p. The Divines, as is usual in such Disputes, grew warm^q, and at last an open Schism en-

^o The Work may be abridged by a serious Perusal of a Book intitled, *An Answer to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiston, &c.* printed in London in the Year 1729.

^p The History of *Arminius* is well known. He undertook to answer a Book which had been published against (Calvinistical) Predestination: he weighed all the Reasons on which his Adversary grounded his Opinion; was convinced by the Force of those Arguments; embraced the Sentiments of his Adversary, and maintained them even better than his Book had done. This is the first beginning of *Arminianism*. Such Accidents have happened more than once. See in the *Colomesiana* the Story of the two Brothers *Reynolds*, one a *Roman* Catholic the other a Protestant; they so disputed one against the other that each changed Sides.

^q See *Epist. Eccles. & Theol.* Ep. 317. p. 527.

^r *Jurieu* and *Gomar*.

sued. The *Arminians* were accused before the civil Magistrates as ' Factious and Rebels : they have likewise been often branded as Abettors of *Socinianism* and *Libertinism*, and suspected of worse Crimes. But we need not enter into those Disputes which were occasioned by the *Arminians*, shewing as much Inclination to *Toleration*, as their Opponents did a bitter Zeal for Persecution. At present the *Arminians* have their own Churches, in which they quietly perform their Devotions, as other Reformed Sects.

* The famous Dutch *Cato*, *Barneveldt*, lost his Life partly on that Account or Pretence.





ASSEMBLÉE de ceux qu'on appelle COLLEGIANS a Amsterdam.



Leur CENE a Rymsburg.

DISSERTATION

On the Customs, &c. of those who are called in *Holland*
Collegianten, and *Rhynsburgers*.

THEY have been settled at *Rhynsburg*^a above a Hundred Years, and meet twice in every Year: This is known in the Country; but as they seldom hold their Assemblies, it is not much to be wondered, that Foreigners should not so much as be acquainted with their Names: The following Account is authentick, the Author being one of the chief Members of that Society.

WE must first take Notice, that they are much mistaken, who take it for granted, that *Collegianten* and *Rhynsburgers* are the same; but to set them right, we must put them in mind, that the *Collegianten* own their Name, to the Manner in which their small Societies were formed: The Nature of these *religious Meetings* cannot be better described, than by comparing them to the friendly Societies, which we call *Clubs*, and the *Dutch Collegeen*. They likewise bear some Resemblance with the *Mystical Schools*, which we have mentioned, when speaking of the Pietists. However, we shall call them *Clubs*.

IN these *Clubs* therefore, every Man may, and has a Right, to speak what Religion soever he may outwardly profess, what System soever he may follow, and let his Notions be ever so much out of the common Way of thinking: On this one only Condition, that he owns Scripture to have been divinely inspired. Churchman or Layman, every one explains that Text as he sees fit, and freely may utter whatsoever he thinks about Religion, either in general, or in regard to any particular Sect. Women are not allowed the same Privilege, as amongst *Quakers*, for they must hold their Tongues. And indeed these *Clubs* have nothing to do with the *Spirit within* of these Enthusiasts, nor with its Impulses: What any of the *Club* says, is the Produce of his Studies, and Meditations on the Bible, or of his own ingenious Discoveries. Moreover (and most People of a bold and free Spirit will approve this Part of their Rules) the *Club* is not to be kept under Subjection by any one Doctor, or by three or four, who, as is done in other Assemblies, keep all the Discourse to themselves. Besides the *Club* of *Rhynsburg*, from which they derive the Appellation of *Rhynsburgers*, there are many others, in several Towns and Villages of *Holland*, *Friesland*, and *West Friesland*; at *Amsterdam*^b, *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Groningen*, *Lewarden*, &c. what need we mention any more Towns? As to Villages, the most noted *Club* meets at *Sardam*, and is remarkable for being composed of Members who belong various Sects. For, lest our Readers should forget it, we must once more put them in Mind, that in these *Clubs* only one essential Point is agreed on, to wit, the divine Inspiration of Scripture: They are at full Liberty to explain it as they think fit, and to build any System they please upon that Foundation.

^a *Rhynsburg* is a Village near *Leyden*.

^b The Print here annexed represents one of these Clubs:

THEIR devout Exercise begins by reading a Cantic and a Psalm, which is afterwards sung, then a Prayer is proposed, which being ended, the Text appointed for the Subject of their Christian-Entertainment, or sometimes any other Text is read, the Brethren present are invited, to make Use of the Freedom of those *Clubs*, in objecting what Difficulties, making what Remarks, or giving what Admonitions and Exhortations they please. If no one rises to speak, then those who were appointed to handle that Subject speak to it, (for lest the *Club* should separate without any Discourse, two are always appointed to speak;) when they have done, Silence is kept for a considerable Time, that any one may make what Objections, &c. he thinks fit, to what has been said. The whole Ceremony concludes with a suitable Application and Prayer.

No Register is kept of the Names of the Members belonging to the *Clubs*, and in Reality, they are but a *Body composed of such Members as are borrowed from all Sorts of Sects, in order to meet twice every Week, (Sundays, and Wednesdays.)* If this Definition does not please some, they must, however, be forced to look upon them as a Society of Christians, brought up in divers Systems of Religion, *Arminians, Mennonites, Unitarians, Mysticks, &c.* Each of which keeping to his own Religion, frequents the *Clubs*, to utter with Freedom his Thoughts about the Sense, the Doctrine, and the Instructions contained in holy Writ, and by that Means acquire greater and surer Knowledge, and give Edification one to the other, &c. If the divine Authority of holy Writ is owned, no-body is looked upon as a Heretick, though their Way of explaining it, or arguing upon it, is ever so bold. Those who lead disorderly Lives, or blindly follow their Passions are, they say, the only Hereticks, for God will shew more Mercy to false Notions and Errors of the Understanding, than to the Sins against Morality, which are committed willfully and knowingly, against the Dictates of Reason and Conscience.

THESE *Clubs* were begun about 1619, and owe their Beginning to the Spirit of Persecution, which then reigned in *Holland*, which has occasioned the Members of them to run into the other Extream: Three Brothers, called *Vander Codde* (in Latin *Coddeus*, who had a fourth Brother Professor of *Hebrew* at *Leyden*) were the first Founders of these Meetings. All three were *Arminians*, and lived in three different Villages, one of them was an Elder in his Parish, and lived at *Rbysburgh*: They were not inspired as the Apostles, but resembled them in their low State of Life, being either Husband-men, or Tanners; moreover they were well versed in Scripture, which they read and meditated upon with great Assiduity, and lead a moral, sober Life. *Arminianism* was then at a very low Ebb, both because it had lately been condemned in the Synod of *Dordrecht*, and upon political Accounts; so far, that *Arminians*, when found out, were dealt with as Enemies to God, and civil Society. The Ministers of the *Remonstrants* were forbid preaching, and even banished, if they refused to sign the Act of Exclusion and Suspension from the Ministry; which was drawn up against *Arminianism*, after the Victory obtained in the said Synod of *Dordrecht*, by the *Calvinistical Orthodox*. Others, who would not sign the said Act, were fined, and Rewards promised to those, who should discover and denounce a *Remonstrant Minister* to the Magistrates. We cannot affirm positively, that the Hopes of Gain brought on many such Discoveries of these new *Palagians*, but we are fully assured, that the Gospel does not appoint such self-interested Ways of finding out *Hereticks*; and that whoever made Use of them,

* This Name is also given to the *Arminians*.

probably were not *predestinated to Salvation by the eternal Decree*. However by these Proceedings the Remonstrants were deprived of their Pastors and Teachers. Then the above-mentioned three Brothers, to the End that all Exercise of Devotion might not be laid aside, proposed to set up a *Religious Club*, into which, besides *Remonstrants*, People of all Sects were admitted in Process of Time, all as *equal Brethren*, for their mutual Edification.

THE first of these *Clubs* was established at *Warmand*, a Village where one of the *Vander Codde* lived. A great Number of *Remonstrants*, who could not then meet either openly or privately as *Arminians* for fear of severe Fines, were over-joyed at this Opportunity of assembling together as Friends under a Name of Society, very common in the Country, and in which Religion is never supposed to be concerned. When the Heat of Persecution abated, several Ministers of the *Remonstrants* returned into their own Country, and offered their Services as Pastors; but were told by *Vander Codde*, that their new Institution, being on the Model prescribed by *St. Paul*, *1 Cor. chap. 14. verse 26* and following, did admit or require Pastoral Functions.

THIS *Club* was soon removed to *Rhynsburg*, where it increased considerably, and was joined by two famous^d Pastors of the *Remonstrants*, who were received as *Brethren* only. Several other Places of *Holland* followed this Example, and had also their Clubs, which at first were strictly enquired into, but at last connived at.

THIS is the best Account we could get of the Institution of those *Clubs*; others pretend it to be of an older Date, tho' established on the same Plan, governed by the same Rules, and grounded on the same Exposition of *St. Paul's* Words. This Dispute may be reconciled by owning that the oldest were only made up of *Anabaptists* and other Fanatics; and that after all, such Meetings may have been held in all Persecutions, as we see Conventicles and clandestine Assemblies are to this Day in *England*; but let us not dispute about Words.

IT is likewise reported, that *Grindal* Archbishop of *Canterbury* held some such Meetings in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; but as they were kept openly in the Church, and under the Protection and Direction of the Diocesan Bishop; they cannot be ranked amongst *Clubs* and clandestine Assemblies. Nevertheless as it concerns *England*, we shall give a short Account of them. The Time of their Meeting was once a Month, sometimes twice; only Churchmen were allowed to speak; the Subject, and the Persons who were to handle it, were appointed before-hand; the youngest of those Preachers began, and the others followed according to their Age; so that the oldest spoke last, recapitulated what the others had said, praised what deserved it, corrected their Faults with Mildness; their whole Discourse was in order to compare the Text in hand with others, to settle its true and genuine Sense, the sacred Writer's Aim, the exact Significancy of the Words, the various Translations, the Consequences which flowed from it, and to expose the wrong Explications of Hereticks and false Doctors. If we consider the Circumstances of those Days, and that every Preacher was allowed to publish his Opinions freely, it must be owned the Variety of Systems and Opinions could not but produce warm Debates; but the grave Divines who presided in those Assemblies by Order of the Bishop, moderated their Heat, and helped to keep good Order. This lasted two or three Hours; yet such was the Variety of Matter treated on, and of Opinions concerning it, that the Hearers were never tired: The whole began and ended with a Prayer,

^d *Camphusius*, and *Gesperanus*.

and then they went together to a *Brotherly Dinner*. The Queen expressed her Dislike of those Assemblies, the Archbishop was strenuous for them, and wrote a Book in their Defence; but to no purpose, *Elizabeth* discountenanced them.

AFTER this short Digression, we now return to the Dutch Clubs; they made an open Profession of Toleration, so far that in 1677, and in 1680, most of those Clubs in *Holland* contributed largely to the Erecting and Endowing at *Amsterdam* the College of *Orange*, which is founded also for the Maintenance of Orphans, not only of their own Sect, but of others; and the same has been done in other Places of *Holland*: A glorious Effect of that human Disposition which ought to influence all Men notwithstanding the Disputes about Religion!

As to the *Rhynsburgers*, they are made up of *Mennonites*, *Remonstrants*, *Unitarians*, *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, &c. who from all Parts meet at *Rhynsburgh*, as the Jews heretofore at ^d*Jerusalem*. They assemble only twice a Year, at Pentecost and on the last Sunday in *August*, to partake of the Lord's Supper, and whoever leads a regular Life, according to the Scripture Precepts, may be admitted, whatever Opinion he may otherwise entertain even about the Essence and Nature of this Sacrament. The Eve of the Communion Day is to be employed in a Review of their Sins, and disposing their Hearts. Two Discourses are pronounced before they receive, the first on the Lord's Supper in general, and the Death of Christ in particular, the other explains the Motives of their Meeting in that Village, to unite themselves like Christians and Brethren without Distinction of Parties, without declaring themselves *some for Paul others for Apollo*, as the Jews celebrated their Solemnities together in the Temple, not minding the Disputes betwixt the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*. They deplore the Evils which flow from Schisms; "Is it not much better, says a *Rhynsburgian* Teacher, to admit every Christian who believes the Scripture, and endeavours to live up to its Rules, according to the Law of Christ? We therefore invite them all to take the Communion with us, . . . without minding the odious Appellations with which they are bespattered, and without giving any Room in our Souls, to that Gall of Bitterness which most Men look upon as a Proof of their Zeal for the Doctrine of Christ." These and such Discourses being ended, they perform the Communion Service, in the same manner as the *Calvinists*. The Alms collected from the Faithful are deposited in the Hands of the Secretary of that Village, who gives a Receipt for it, and distributes it to the Poor of *Rhynsburgh*. This Solemnity is concluded with a Discourse by way of Thanksgiving to God; and next Morning they take leave of one another, with mutual Exhortations to Perseverance in the true Religion, and faithful Service of God. All may speak, teach, or administer the Communion; yet these Functions are generally performed by People who beforehand are prepared, and sometimes appointed to do it. *Rhynsburgh* being at a great Distance, the *Friesland*ers of that Sect meet yearly at *Lewarden* to partake of the Lord's Supper, as is done at *Rhynsburgh*: "An evident Proof, say they, that we are not guilty of the Superstition imputed to us, of having a particular Devotion for the Village of *Rhynsburgh*."

NEXT to the Lord's Supper, the only remarkable Ceremony of these Sectaries, is their Baptism; of which, one of their own Members gives the following Account: The Candidate for Baptism, makes publicly his Profession of Faith on a *Saturday*

* They do not look on *Rhynsburgh* as a more holy Place than other Towns; which the Jews did in relation to *Jerusalem*, and *Roman* Catholics to the consecrated Churches, but have only regard to their own way of baptizing in a running Water.

! The Prints here annexed represent their *Baptism* and *Communion*.



in the Morning, before an Assembly of *Rhynburghers*, held for that Purpose: A Discourse is pronounced, on the Excellency and Nature of Baptism: The Minister and Candidate go together to a Pond, behind a House belonging to the Sect; (we might call it an Hospital, since they receive for nothing, those who have not wherewithal to pay their Reckoning at the Inns.) In that Pond the *Neophyte*, *Catechumen*, or *Candidate* is baptised by Immersion, if a Man, he has a Wastecoa and Drawers, if a Woman, a Boddice and Petticoat, with Leads at the Bottom, for the Sake of Decency. The Minister, in the same Dress as the Men wear, is also in the Water, and plunges them in it, pronouncing, at the same Time, the Form used by most Christian-Communities. This being over they put on their Cloaths, go back to the Meeting, hear an Exhortation to Perseverance, in complying with the Precepts of Christ. A publick Prayer is said, and some Canticles or Psalms sung.

THESE are the most singular Customs, of those who are called in *Holland* *Collegianten* and *Rhynburghers*: 'Tis said, that this Sect, and that of the *Unitarians*, who are mixed with them, with the *Quakers*, and with the *Anabaptists*, is very much diminished: Others pretend, that all Sectaries have learnt to dissemble, more than their Predecessors, and that this Disguise makes some over-credulous, but devoutly inclined Persons, flatter themselves with the Hopes, that Heresy and Libertinism lose Ground. But probably they are most in the Right, who think that the Religion of *Mammon* does get a Superiority over all others. We must be contented to suspend our Judgment, and desire that the Grace of God may be granted to all Mankind.

An quidquam nobis tali sit munere majus!

A

DISSERTATION

On the singular Doctrine of a Sect which is accused of
Libertinism and Deism.

THE generality of Mankind know no Difference betwixt *Deists* and *Atheists*, yet they are widely different; not to say 'tis hard, even next to an Impossibility, that there should be any real *Atheists*. The Existence of a supreme Being is so evidently proved, the distinguishing Characters of Good and Evil, and their Consequences, are so deeply engraved in the Conscience of every Man, that they cannot entirely throw off the Notion of a God. Accordingly we find that the most unpolished and barbarous Nations have always entertained some Belief of a Godhead, and cannot be looked upon as *Atheists*: The same must be said of the *Chinese*, of the Inhabitants of *Japan*, and of all Idolaters: for tho' *Tertullian* says truly that *there is no God, if he is not a one*; yet it does not follow that all those who worshipped more than one, thought that there was none.

ATHEISM then is a *Chimera*, but *Deism* is not so; to own the Being of one God, to worship him, yet so as to embrace, out of Policy, what Religion soever is most in vogue, and favoured by the Government, is as natural to the general Bent of Mankind, as to live under that Government as long as our Affairs require it, or our Inclination leads us. As for those, if there be any such, whose Principles are destructive of publick Society, they might be thought to go beyond *Deism*; but either they are not serious in their lawless Schemes, which if successful, would prove their own Ruin, as well as of the rest of Mankind; or rather they act against their own Knowledge, to acquire an empty Reputation of senseless Wit.

ON the other Side, both in civil and ecclesiastical Societies, several are accused of *Deism*, who are no ways guilty of it: and the more they complain of such Usage, all their Protections serve only to strengthen the Prejudice conceived against them. Thus an Indifferency as to the various Opinions which divide Christendom, too extensive a Toleration of all Sects, Errors of divers kinds, such as those of the *Anabaptists*, *Socinians*, *Remonstrants*, &c. Even too much Freedom in censuring the Faults of Churchmen, and the Quibbles of the Schools, are looked upon as the worst sort of *Deism* by fiery Zealots or over-scrupulous Christians.

BUT the Sect we are now giving an Account of, is of a *mixt Deism*, as is evident by their Tenets. The Founders of it were *Pontian of Hattem*, and another *Dutchman* named *Woutelaer*, who, they say, added some of their own Notions to the System of *Spinoza*, and interlarded the whole with some *mystical* Opinions of the *Pietists*. This Sect of *Hattem* still meets, but with so much Privacy, that no one is admitted to their Assemblies, unless he can give evident Proofs of his being a trusty Member of their Society. This Precaution is necessary to avoid the grievous Penalties inflicted

* *Deus si non unus est; non est; quia dignius credimus non esse, quodcunque non fuerit ut esse debeat.*
This seems to favour *Bayle's* Problem, in his *Thoughts on Comets*.

upon them by an Edict of the States of *Holland* and *West Friesland*, which orders, that they shall be banished or cast into Prison, and severely punished as Enemies to Virtue, to Divine Worship, and Disturbers of the publick Peace; that their Books shall be suppressed, and the Authors, Printers and Publishers proceeded against as directed in the Edict about *Spinozism*.

Our curious Readers may find a full Account of *Baruch* or *Benedict Spinoza* in *Bayle's Dictionary*, to which may be added his *Life*, published by *Maximilian Lucas*, one of his Disciples; he was born at *Amsterdam*, Son of a *Portuguese Jew*: His bold Explications of Scripture occasioned his being excommunicated, and cast out of the Synagogue; to avoid their Persecutions, after they had obtained his Banishment, he retired to *Rhynsburg*, then to *Voorburgh*, and lastly to the *Hague*, where he died. *Lucas* praises much his Morals, as to his forgiving Injuries, outward Neatness, and Disinterestedness. His System is wholly included in this Verse of *Lucan*:

Jupiter est quodcumque vides quodcumque moveris.

Meaning that there is but one Substance in the Universe, by the different Modifications of which all Nature is formed. He seems likewise, by a Conversation which *Lucas* relates, to have been of opinion, that God had a Body, and that there are no Substances merely spiritual.

PONTIAN of *Hattem* had been a Minister of *Zealand*, in the foggy Air of which Country he invented the System afterwards published by his Disciple *Wootelaer*, who lived at *Amsterdam* beyond the Age^b of thirty four, and vented his Doctrine, whilst he sold Linnen: In the clandestine Assemblies which he held, he entertained his Audience with the following unintelligible Paradoxes.

1. EVERY criminal Thought, Word, or Action, is the Effect of Sin; Sin is a Privation of God, of Soul, of Life, 'tis the Death of the Soul; whoever is sorry for a bad Thought or Desire, is not sorry that he is a Sinner, but that his Sins are discovered, and that God has made him know the State in which he is.

2. OWNING criminal Thoughts, Words, or Actions, is not a Confession of Sins; on the contrary, 'tis a Denial of being a Sinner, since it is a Denial of being dead; for to be dead and to be a Sinner is one and the same thing.

3. ALL Sinners are equally dead, being all equally Sinners; Sin may shew itself in one more than in another; but it is essential to Man, whoever is a Sinner this Day, shall not be more so to Morrow: The Action of Man is not to be called Sin, that Appellation belongs only to his State of Death.

4. ACTIONS therefore do not make the Sinner; but they are Sins only, because he was a Sinner first; Sin is the Death of Man, the Actions are only his Corruption, such Corruption as manifests itself when Bodies are naturally dead.

5. WORKS good or bad do not change a Man, they only shew whether he be good or bad, as Fruits change not the Tree.

6. GOD is immutable, and suffers no Change in regard to us, not even by our most criminal Actions: *He is not angry at Man because he has sinned, but Man sinned because God was angry with him*... Satan says, *Man has sinned, let him be punished*; God says, *Man is a Sinner*, that is, *he is dead, I must raise him to Life*. No Man can be pleasing to God, till after this Renunciation.

7. FROM thence he concludes, that *they who condemn their Brethren are like the Devil, and those who... are merciful to them resemble God*. Man is dead by Sin, Actions

^b See also a Pamphlet called *Korte Aanmerkinge*, that is, *Short Remarks*, &c.

which are bad are the Corruption flowing essentially from Death : to be angry at bad Actions is as extravagant, as to be angry at a dead Corps for stinking.

8. HE calls Christ *Peacemaker*. 'Tis foolish to enquire what Faith a Man professes ; there is but one Faith. " Whoever thinks himself just is quiet, he rests, " and works no more ; his Repose is the Effect of his Faith. Those who do not " endeavour it, those divide themselves into Sects..... as *Catholicks, Mennonites, Socinians, Arminians, &c.* they even belong to Religions intirely opposit to " Christianity, as *Judaism, Mahometism, and Paganism* yet all these Divisions " make no Difference amongst them ; they are all alike, says *Hattem*, they condemn Christ, *crucify him over again*, and make him a Liar and an Impostor."

9. THREE Persons are one God, who denies one, denies all three. Jews, Mahometans, Socinians deny the Son, who is the second Person of the Trinity ; therefore they reject God, therefore they are Atheists. Catholicks, Mennonites and Arminians are Atheists, says *Hattem*, because they are not at Rest in *Quiet*, but take Pains to give God Glory, and to do his Will.

10. GOD alone can do his own Will, Man worships him and does his Will only *passively*, by receiving his Impressions, &c. Then all Religion is only *passive*.

11. WHOEVER pretends to any other but this *passive* Religion is an *Atheist*, by calling *the Will of God* any other Will but that of the Creator.

12. *All those who believe that God has within himself a Law which Men are required by God and obliged to fulfil, are Atheists and Idolaters* ; because all Religion consisting in this *being passive*, it must be a wild and vain Imagination, to pretend that religious Worship consists in obeying Laws, supposed to flow from God.

13. THEN he concludes no one can believe in God unless he is insensible, immovable, and has no Desires.

14. THEY have no Faith in God, who are displeased at any thing that happens ; who are not satisfied either with their own Conduct, or that of others ; who think they can do more, be more holy and happy, and enjoy a more desirable State.

15. So that whoever desires to be *any thing else than what he is, does not believe in God*, even tho' he should wish a sick Person to recover, or a Drunkard to leave off Drunkenness : Censures and Punishments, Repentance, Desires and Endeavours of Amendment are useless ; Men by such Sentiments resist the Will of God, and become inflexible to it, and consequently are without true Faith and Atheists.

16. THIS Indifferency ought, according to *Hattem*, to make a true Faithful equally satisfied whether Virtue or Vice is predominant in himself or others ; *Passiveness and Quiet* will be his only Virtues, these will keep him *even from knowing Evil, and render him pleasing to God the Creator*, whom by the first Article of the Creed we are to believe.

17. The Actions of Men are their Fruits, and are such as those who do them : good Fruits cannot be expected from bad Trees, Men are essentially bad ; 'tis therefore a wicked Opposition to the Will of God, to require good Fruits (good Actions) from Men.

18. THE Son is the Word of God and his Wisdom.... our Prophet and Doctor, &c. all the Expressions of Scripture teach us, that believing in him consists in receiving his Testimony as infallible..... Now the Testimony of the Son of God is that *the Will of God is not in Precepts, that our Actions are not the Obedience we owe him. We*

obey by Faith, and the Will of God is his eternal Decree. We are neither better nor worse by our Actions.

19. THE Corruption of Man is according to God's Will, *Man is naturally dead, naturally wicked, naturally damned, &c.* yet our Works are the Works of the Son of God, by which we know we are Sinners, dead, without Soul, without God, in a Word perfect Atheists, &c.

20. But a true Faithful is not sorry for his Sins, he owns them, humbles himself in the Sight of God, acknowledges that he is dead, and that as such he can only spread Infection (commit Sins) and this is all the *Repentance* and *Confession* required: so says *Hattem*, and adds, "That no one believes in the Son of God, but owns "that he rejects the Divinity: to own a God is to deny that one is dead." Who can understand this Nonsense? and what dreadful Consequences flow from such Principles?

21. THE Love of God and of our Neighbour does not consist in Actions. This would be a Denial of God's Justice; and prove only as a Disguise of our hating the supreme Being.

22. THE Love of God consists in Faith, and that is shewed by being pleased with the Punishments he inflicts, and those are our bad Actions. Probably *Hattem* himself did not understand his own Expressions.

23. THE Faithful alone are filled, glad, and content, &c. All is the Work of God, therefore every thing pleases them: they are always perfect, because they are such as God thought fit they should be. Their Works are their Punishment, they own it and thus are justified: they alone are the regenerate Children of God, his Heirs, and are intimately united to him by the most tender Affection; which *Hattem* and most *Myficks* express after the Model of *Solomon's* Canticle by the most endearing Words employed in Love Affairs.

THESE are the chief Tenets of *Hattem*, a strange Jumble of *Quietism* and other Heresies, with which, no doubt, our Readers are sufficiently tired: These Sectaries were accused of *Atheism* and *Libertinism*, and no Wonder; they supposed every Body else to be *Atheists*, and by Retaliation the same was objected to them: again, it was reported^a that they enlisted Men in the Devil's Name, and made them swallow in a Glass of Wine a Paper with the Word *Devil* wrote upon it; that their Teachers were Wizards, and used Conjurations: which Calumnies (if we believe this their Apologist) had the desired Success in reducing the *Hattemites* to fly their Country, or to abscond. We must not omit letting our Readers know that *Pontian of Hattem*^b had frequented the *Cocceian* Schools.

SOME pretended Wits who have lately renewed in *Holland* the System of the Soul of the^c World and the Eternity of both^d might with Justice be reckoned *Spinozists* and *Deists* more than *Hattem*. One of them indeed pretends to be far from a *Spinozist*, by establishing some Difference^e betwixt God and Nature. The same Writer maintains also, that the Trinity is only three Modifications of the su-

^a See *Buitendyk's* Letters to *Davervelt*, Letter third.

^b See Letter fourth to *Davervelt* towards the End.

^c This Soul is said by ancient Philosophers to be united to Matter, as our Souls are to our Bodies, and is the Life of Matter, as the Soul is the Life of the Body: But tho' inseparably united as our Soul is not our Body, so God is not Matter. Others have been of Opinion, that Matter is coeternal with God, as a Shadow is coeval with the Body.

^d This Author and his Disciples, as much as can be guessed from his Reasons, seem to think that Matter flows from God, as Light does from the Sun.

^e See a Dutch Book entitled, *Imaginary Chaos*, &c.

preme Being ; that Extension is essential to God, and is the second Person ; that Creation is from all Eternity, &c. He and some others, namely one *Deurbos*^a, have had some Followers, and held as they do still some small Assemblies, in a very private Manner, to avoid the Prosecutions which the Magistrates might make against them^a.

THE ancient and modern *Wits* have always endeavoured to bring into Contempt the Religions settled in every Country : But never thought fit to break Society upon that Account with the rest of Mankind. And after all their Arguments, have been forced at last to own the Necessity of some Religion, not only to keep Meo in Awe, and out of Fear^b, but because they were convinced of the Being of a God by Dint of Demonstration ; when forced so far, they have denied *Revelation*, yet could not avoid acknowledging that God might reveal himself by some Means or other, that being so much above our Reach of Understanding, his Authority must overcome all Objections ; thus these Libertines, Deists, pretended Wits, with their bold Inquiries, are reduced to own the Weakness of their boasted Reasonings, and to humble themselves under the powerful Hand of God.

THEY ought likewise to be reckoned as *Deists*, who believe that all Religions are equally agreeable to God, provided they are not opposite to the Laws of Nature : *God they say loves Variety in Religious Worship*. But if he has revealed any Religion, that only can be agreeable to him, which he has prescribed ; and how can Man know, without Revelation, what exterior Worship is acceptable to the supreme Being ? They also must be deemed *Deists*, who, as *Toland* and *Woolston*, under Pretence of crying down Superstition, have attacked Religion itself, as being loaded^c with *ancient Errors, ancient Frauds, ancient Lies, which by Length of Time^d have been taken for Truths, and which the old Heathenish Romans highly prized, and I wish, says Toland, I might not be forced to say Christians do likewise^e*. Superstition is no doubt a great Evil, Fables and Stories have brought Religion into Disrepute, and cannot be countenanced by any rational Man, unless actuated by Avarice, Ambition, Ignorance, or an over credulous Fear : We must then conclude, that a truly religious Man renders to God what is due to him, submits himself, and the whole Extent of Reason, to his infallible Word ; adores him in Spirit and Truth ; loves him, without servile Fear, out of Gratitude and Duty ; expects all Good from his bountiful Hand, despises the Terrors of Death, and rejects all the false Notions of an inexorable Fate^f.

^a Such Meetings are still held in several Towns, in retired Places, and under inoffensive Pretences, such as mutual Visits, smoaking a Pipe, or drinking Tea, which is followed with Talking of Religion, &c.

^b *Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor.*

^c *Antiqui errores, antiquæ fraudes, antiqua mendacia.* Adeisdæmon, p. 31.

^d *In rebus tam antiquis si quæ similia veri sunt, pro veris habeantur satis habeam,* Livy.

^e *Maximi certe talia fecerat Romanum vulgus, utinam & Christianum dicere non possem !* Adeisdæmon, p. 34.

^f *Felix ! qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
Subiecit pedibus, &c.* Virg. Georg. lib. 2.

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THE
CEREMONIES

AND
RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

OF THE
VARIOUS NATIONS of the KNOWN WORLD.

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